The crime-commission process of sexual offences on London trains (SOLT): Offending in plain sight, not just at night

A thesis submitted to Middlesex University

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

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April 2019

Acknowledgements

This journey has been supported by a team around me who, without doubt, have made it possible for me to reach the end point. Firstly, to my supervisory team – Dr Jackie Gray, Professor Joanna Adler and Dr Miranda Horvath, who have allowed me to grow during this process, giving guidance, support and challenge in equal measure. It was an inspired dream team, which I was grateful to have, thank you.

I would like to say thank you to Professor Nollaig Frost, who provided professional and personal support when I was navigating the narratives of the offenders. Exploring the ways in which I could interpret the datasets was also made fun, with the help of Gary Hearne.

This PhD was funded by the British Transport Police (BTP). I received support beyond the financial aspect from a range of staff within BTP, whose interest and help to navigate barriers made this research happen. A special mention to Ashley Cooper, Patrick Kidwell, Keely Duddin, Richard Mann, along with members of the Performance and Management Team, who enabled me to access staff and datasets. Thank you also to Sharon Mui, who patiently enabled me to master Excel, and amalgamate the various datasets for analysis – no small task for a novice like me.

Without the London Community Rehabilitation Company (CRC) and National Probation Service (NPS) gatekeepers, John Rico and Tajinder Matharu, I would not have been able to access the offenders who took part in the research. It was a long, far from straight-forward process, but well worth it.

Thank you to the BTP police officers and offenders who participated in the research. I am grateful for their time and sharing their experiences.

There are friends and fellow PhD students that have also been a part of this journey, I have enjoyed these valuable interactions.

To my mum, who taught me that I could achieve anything if I put my mind to it! I learnt that you can work hard and play hard… I definitely intend to play hard for the next 3 years.

An immense thank you to my husband Barns, who I realised 15 years ago was my rock that keeps me grounded when everything else is moving all around me. You have been there in so many ways to ensure that I was able to embark on and complete this milestone.

Finally, to Reuben and Nathan - my amazing, inspiring sons, who have been encouraging me every step of the way and were often the reason I kept going until the very end.

Dissemination of findings

Papers presented

Apena Rogers, S., Gray, J., Adler, J.R. and Horvath, M. (2017) ' Policing sexual offences on London trains (SOLT): The proactive response' at the British Sociological Association Conference. April 4-6.

Apena Rogers, S., Gray, J., Adler, J.R. and Horvath, M. (2017) 'Understanding the commission process for sex offending on London railways:
An ethnographic study of proactive policing approaches' at the British Psychological Society Annual Conference. May 3-6.

Apena Rogers, S., Gray, J., Adler, J.R. and Horvath, M. (2018) 'Sexual offences on London trains (SOLT): What we know from proactive police officers' experiences' at the Stockholm Criminology Symposium. June 15-16.

Contents

List of tables

List of figures

Acronyms

BTP	British Transport Police
ITSO	Integrated theory of sexual offending
ILP	Intelligence-led policing
MCA	Manifest content analysis
MOPAC	Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime
NC	Narrative criminology
POP	Problem-orientated policing
RAT	Routine activity theory
RCP	Rational choice perspective
RITSI	Report It To Stop It
SCP	Situational crime prevention
SHPO	Sexual Harm Prevention Order
SOLT	Sexual offences on London trains
SOU	Sexual Offences Unit
TA	Thematic analysis
TfL	Transport for London

Abstract

This thesis explores sexual offences that are committed on London trains, which has seen an increase over the past 3 years (BTP, 2018). This research aims to produce a detailed and comprehensive descriptive account of sexual offences on London trains (SOLT), utilising psychological and criminological theoretical constructs, for example, crime script theory and narrative criminology, to understand the commission of such offences. The initial study conducted with proactive officers from the British Transport Police (BTP) (N = 14), provided preliminary findings in relation to the offence specific characteristics and behaviours of SOLT that related to situational and environmental factors.

A further study was conducted with a sample of convicted offenders to understand how they make sense of themselves and their actions as perpetrators. Key factors were their post hoc rationalisations for their behaviours and insights regarding how these factors influence their decision-making.

The final study of archival police records explored the importance of spatial and temporal factors relating to the behaviours of individuals committing sexual offences in the train environment. Offence characteristics were interrogated to explore relationships between variables, to distinguish

between the different sexual offending behaviours for the different offence types.

This thesis adds to existing knowledge of how psychological theories can be employed to inform the policing approach and practice to SOLT, as well as adding to the wider literature on sex offending. This research identifies how the complexities of the political, organisational and individual factors impact on the outcome of policing strategies to address SOLT. To complement this new theoretical model, the findings presented in this thesis also provide useful direction for strategic thinking and operational practice within BTP.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Violence in public places – from sexual harassment to rape – is a daily occurrence and a universal problem for women and girls around the world, both in cities and rural areas and in developed and developing countries (UN Women, 2014). Often, this violence happens on public transport affecting women's freedom of movement, as well as their health and well-being (UN Women, 2014). Sexual crime against women in transit (from staring, touching, groping, ejaculation, exposing genitalia to rape) is a highly underreported offence (e.g. Gekoski et al., 2015; Madan & Nalla, 2016; Natarajan, 2016).[1]

Over the last five years, sexual harassment and sexual offending on public transport has firmly made its way into public consciousness. In the UK this has been largely as a direct result of the Report It To Stop It (RITSI) campaign led by the British Transport Police (BTP) and Transport for London (TfL), as well as movements such as #EverydaySexism[2], #MeToo[3] and #ItsNotOk[4]. Internationally, there is a small but growing body of research on this issue with a focus on understanding and giving voice to victim experiences, to ensure it does not remain an invisible problem. When considering 'what works', there was acknowledgement that a shift in approach

[1] Most of the material within this thesis relates to female victims, however, it is also acknowledged that males are also victims of sexual assaults. The omission of male victimisation from this thesis is not to deny their existence - it is recognised that further research is required to fill this gap in knowledge.
[2] https://everydaysexism.com/
[3] https://metoomvmt.org/
[4] http://sexualabuseandsexualviolenceawarenessweek.org/

to understand more about perpetrators and male perspectives in general was needed (Gekoski et al., 2015). As yet, little research has been conducted approaching sexual harassment and assault on public transport from a psychological perspective, something the present thesis addresses.

This chapter provides an overview of the relevant discourse surrounding sexual violence. There is a review of the terminology and definitions to contextualise where the current research sits. Whilst there is a substantial body of literature that offers a conceptual basis to understand sexual assaults, there have been very few studies that have, thus far, explained the phenomenon of sexual offences on transport anywhere and in particular, on London trains (SOLT). The body of literature presented encompasses not only sexual offending on public transport, but the important developments in empirical study and understanding of street harassment, as well as its standing in the legal context within England and Wales. An overview is given of the BTP force and the context within which the research in this thesis is positioned and how this relates to the research aims and strategy. Finally, a synopsis of each chapter is presented.

1.1 Definitions and terminology

Discourse around the issue of sexual violence reveals a plethora of terminology, which can lead to disparities in how different phenomena are named, definitional obstacles and the lack of agreement as to what practices in

fact constitute the phenomenon (Vera-Gray, 2016). The definitions introduced in the sections below are used throughout the entire thesis. At this point, the fuller explanations reflect critical engagement with these terms that are often used interchangeably, culminating in the development and refinement of ideas to provide clarity of understanding. A glossary has been provided with the key terms and definitions used throughout the thesis, which can be found at the end of the thesis for reference.

Sexual harassment

Violence against women, which includes physical and/or sexual intimate partner violence or sexual violence by a non-partner, has received considerable attention; see Barnish (2004) for a review of the literature. The treatment of women in the public sphere, however, has only relatively recently gained attention within the research field (Madan & Nalla, 2016). Hitherto, sexual harassment has been seen as an occupational hazard largely affecting women globally in a wide range of vocations from the theatre world to hospitals (Kleppe & Røyseng, 2016). The definition here takes it further, as sexual harassment is increasingly recognised as occurring in the vicinity of schools or universities, in the workplace, at bus stations or on public transport (Shoukry, Hassan, & Komsan, 2008). The term sexual harassment refers to unwanted and inappropriate sexual behaviours that range from verbal comments to rape, which has the purpose or effect of being intimidating, hostile, degrading, humiliating or offensive (McDonald, 2012).

Street harassment

Street harassment specifically refers to harassment that is faced mostly by women from men who are strangers, in public spaces like streets, parks, modes of public transport, and bus-stops (Dhillon & Bakaya, 2014). Unwanted sexual behaviours (USBs) include making passes, obscene gestures, whistling, staring, pinching, fondling or touching, and rubbing against women, which can be mapped onto the lower level categories of sexual offence. Empirical studies of street harassment are relatively sparse, but there has been a growing body of work over recent years (Dhillon & Bakaya, 2014; Madan & Nalla, 2016; Neupane & Chesney-Lind, 2014; Shoukry et al., 2008). The lack of specific focus on street harassment may be a result of many factors such as trivialisation (Tuerkheimer, 1997), normalisation (Bowman, 1993; McCarty, Iannone, & Kelly, 2014) and that, generally, there is not the same level of scrutiny of this type of behaviour in public or semi-public places as there is in workplaces (Lenton, Smith, Fox, & Morra, 1999).

Arguably, there are issues with the terminology 'street harassment', which creates difficulties finding consensus about how to define it, what to call it, and how to conceptualise the harm (Vera-Gray, 2016). A review of existing literature across disciplines illustrates that there are a multitude of names that refer to street harassment, such as "sexual terrorism," "gender based public harassment," "stranger harassment," and "offensive public speech," which presents problems for comparisons across studies (Logan,

2015; Vera-Gray, 2016). There is no agreement between scholars, activists and lawmakers about the definition of street harassment, and an absence of laws to directly address the many elements of street harassment makes it difficult to tackle from a legal standpoint. These discrepancies often pertain to the different laws, policing and legal systems within the international material from which this literature review draws upon. The focus of this thesis is sexual offending on trains within the London context, therefore, the England and Wales legal system is the framework referred to throughout.

Sexual assault

The Sexual Offences Act 2003 in England and Wales does not cover many of the behaviours encompassed in street harassment. Perpetrators are not seen to be breaking the law if, for example, they yell, "Hey, sexy!", however, there are other aspects of street harassment that constitute violations of the Sexual Offences Act 2003, including exposure and unwanted sexual contact. In England and Wales, The Sexual Offences Act (2003, c. 42, (3)) defines sexual assault as the intentional sexual touching of a non-consenting individual with no "reasonable belief" that the individual has consented. The European Sourcebook defines a sexual offence as "physical sexual contact with a person against her/his will" (Aebi et al., 2010). Both definitions suggest that unwanted non-contact sexual behaviour such as up-skirting (a type of voyeurism) or 'cyber-flashing' (using Apple's AirDrop function to send people unwanted sexually explicit images) would not be

included. The former has now been recognised within the Voyeurism (Offences) Act, 2019.

Scotland, Australia, New Zealand and some US states, for example, already have in place legislation making upskirting illegal. Countries such as Peru, Portugal and Belgium have legislation in place to address the forms of street harassment that are currently not covered by UK law (Independent, 2017), but England is lagging behind (Guardian, 2016; Independent, 2017). In the UK it can, however, be prosecuted under the outraging public decency common law offence because it is generally considered as being capable of being seen by two or more persons who are present. Yet, this raises issues concerning the maximum length of sentencing that can be imposed, in addition to individuals who have committed these offences not being registered on the Sexual Offenders Register. 'Cyber-flashing' is likely to fall short of this legal jurisdiction due to the required stipulation of being observed by two or more persons who are actually present not being met. 'Cyber-flashing' also falls outside of the Protection from Harassment Act 1997 if there is only one occurrence of the behaviour, suggesting that the legal framework needs to catch up with and keep abreast of technological advancements.

Sexual offence

For the purpose of this research, 'sexual offence' is the main term used to denote a breach of a law. The focus is on what is codified, in opposition to subjective ideas about what is deemed morally right or wrong, which will vary and is open to challenge. Using 'sexual offence' as a point of reference corresponds with BTP's language and the legal framework in which they operate, which provides a collective understanding within the research project. A full list of BTP sexual offences crime codes can be found in Appendix A. In addition to the key legislative acts, The 2003 Sexual Offences Act, and the common law offence of outraging public decency, Home Office and CPS guidance is relevant in the proactive and other policing of SOLT (CPS, 2017; Home Office, 2016).

Offender/perpetrator

The term offender defines an illegal act which has resulted in a conviction following the court process, whereas, the term perpetrator also includes harmful or illegal acts that may not have been subject to legal proceedings. A further note about the difference between a person who has offended and an offender, is that the former acknowledges the person outside their offending history and the latter determines them purely on one/more incidents in their lives. Within this thesis, however, the terms offender and perpetrator are used interchangeably for individuals who have committed

sexual violence, as both definitions acknowledge that an illegal act has been committed.

1.2 Sexual offending and victimisation rates on public transport

Shoukry and colleagues (2008) carried out a survey in Egypt with 2020 participants, which included a sample of Egyptian women (901), foreign women (109) and Egyptian men (1010). Results of the study found that 91.5% of Egyptian women and 96.3% of foreign women faced sexual harassment on the street and public transportation; also 49.1% of men reported perpetrating sexual harassment on public transport. Further research suggests that this can be further generalised, with 89% of the female commuters who responded to a survey in Azerbaijan reported experiencing repeat victimisation within a 6 month period (Jafarova, Campbell, & Rojas, 2014). Although clearly relevant, cultural differences do not seem to be at play in terms of frequency of reporting either. For example, in Paris, Egali-mere (2014) reported increasing problems of sexual harassment, highlighting that 90% of women respondents had received unwanted sexual attention.

In Japan, incidents of 'chikan', the Japanese translation for 'groping' – uninvited sexual touching, has historically been an issue affecting young women and female students since the early twentieth century. Since this time, women only carriages have been provided by some train companies in Japan intermittently, with the recent re-introduction signalling a more persistent

response to addressing the problem of 'chikan' (Horii & Burgess, 2012). Despite recent musings by the current Labour Party that women only carriages should be introduced on the tube system (BBC, 2017), this is largely not considered as the best option for addressing SOLT in the UK (Gekoski et al., 2015). Further consideration is given to the 'women-only carriages' initiatives in the main literature review.

In the UK, surveys have found that women are increasingly subjected to sexual harassment and assault on public transport. 15% of women and girls aged 16-24 reported experiencing unwelcome sexual behaviour while travelling on, waiting for or heading to or from public transport in London (SPA, 2014). More than one quarter of women generally do not feel safe using public transport at various times in the day (EVAW, 2012; SPA, 2014). London Underground provides an environment which facilitates inappropriate sexual behaviours (TFL, 2013b). The environment poses challenges being that it is accessible to all, and at the same time has large volumes of passengers whose movements are restricted and many potential victims are often stationary and unguarded (Smith & Clarke, 2000). Factors such as overcrowding and isolation can enable sexual offending (Gekoski et al., 2015). Equally, a deserted or isolated station may increase a woman's vulnerability to being sexually assaulted when using public transport (Gekoski et al., 2015). This risk, therefore, varies in different situations and across different sections of the transport system.

The impact of victimisation (for example, unwanted touching) is largely seen as a public nuisance; yet it often goes beyond this for victims, contributing to particularly negative experiences (McCarty et al., 2014). Whilst the issue of groping on the train can be considered as physically harmless in the long term and less traumatic than other 'more serious' sexual crimes, such as rape (Horii & Burgess, 2012), victimisation of this nature often leaves women feeling angry, disgusted and annoyed (Jafarova et al., 2014), upset, anxious, weak, humiliated, agitated (Fahmy, Abdekmonem, Hamdy, & Badr, 2014), with heightened risk perceptions (Kirchhoff et al., 2007). Such experiences, or fear of (re)victimisation may have a detrimental impact on victims' sense of control in their own environment (Kirchhoff et al., 2007). These experiences may contribute to various strategies being employed such as standing with their back to the wall (Rossi, 2014), travelling when they feel safer (Easton & Smith, 2003) or seeking alternative, less convenient or more expensive ways to travel, such as taxis (Jafarova et al., 2014). All of which curtails the manner, and possibly extent to which women go about their daily lives.

1.3 Background context - British Transport Police (BTP)

BTP is the national specialist police force responsible for policing the railways. Like the Home Office forces, they have a duty and commitment to protect and serve the railway environment and its community, keeping the public safe. Their jurisdiction includes the national train network, London

Underground, Overground, DLR and trams, but not the buses (which are covered by the relevant local police service). BTP are also responsible for the surrounding buildings that are located within and on station property, to include shops, restaurants, etc. BTP have 3 divisions and subdivisions; B division covers TfL, East and South regions, C division has Pennine, Midland, Wales and Western; whilst D division covers Scotland. Within London, BTP has the Sexual Offences Unit (SOU), a specialist dedicated team for sexual offences which works alongside the proactive teams responsible for policing SOLT. A summary of the key approaches to policing is provided below to facilitate understanding of the approaches utilised by BTP.

1.3.1 Policing approaches

The evolution of policing means that foot patrols are largely a thing of the past. Technological advances have facilitated an increase in data availability and information systems can be utilised to examine crime patterns and determine 'hot-spots' (Tilley, 2008). This development has led to the focussing of police resources on small, high crime locations which is more commonly referred to as 'hot-spot policing' (Braga, 2001). There are a number of feasible explanations for why focusing police efforts in concentrated high crime areas reduces crime, rather than the unfocused patrol strategy.

Deterrence theory proposes that crime will occur when the perceived risk of committing a crime is lower than the perceived reward from it

(Beccaria, 1963 [1764]). Police presence is believed to influence the perceived risk-reward calculation made by potential offenders in relation to whether being caught and punished outweighs the potential rewards of the offending behaviour. These overt police observations are more likely to be noticed and perceived as a deterrent in smaller areas (Groff et al., 2015).

Opportunity theories (Brantingham & Brantingham, 1981; Cohen & Felson, 1979) highlight that the characteristics of the environment determine the routine activities of individuals and produce a criminogenic combination of offenders, targets and guardians at certain times and places. Environmental criminological approaches focus on the spatial-temporal context of crime events, as a way of understanding crime patterns what and facilitates the information of hotspots (Anselin, Griffiths, & Tita, 2008; Brantingham & Brantingham, 2008). Situational crime prevention measures are rooted in environmental criminology and can produce a reduction in crime when focused on a specific category of crime (Clarke, 2008). Variation in policing strategies might reduce crime in different ways, for example, police presence increasing the level of guardianship, or by modifying the environment by installing CCTV to change offenders' risk-reward calculations (Piza, Caplan, Kennedy, & Gilchrist, 2015).

Problem-oriented policing (POP) is a proactive approach to policing which focuses on identifying and solving problems (Goldstein, 1979). A problem is defined as being a set of repeated harmful events occurring within

a community that the police is expected by the public to address. Non-law-enforcement resolutions are promoted within the POP model of policing, in addition to traditional responses. In-depth analysis of the problem is required to determine the best response to crime problems, however, this analysis needs to be undertaken by trained individuals to be valid. Whilst POP has a statistically significant impact on reducing crime and disorder, the effect size was small and there were shortcomings in the quality of the evidence (Weisburd, Telep, Hinkle, & Eck, 2008).

Offender-focussed policing is an integral part of intelligence led-policing (ILP), which relies on crime information and criminal intelligence within an operational framework to identify problem areas and the resources needed to address the problem (Ratcliffe, 2008). The merging of crime analysis and criminal intelligence is fundamental to the ILP approach, as is the proactive targeting of repeat offenders. ILP also aligns with deterrence theory; by increasing the probability of arrest for a small number of identified individuals, this could have the effect of discouraging both the targeted offenders and others who operate in that area. There is, however, no empirical evidence to support the effectiveness of ILP on crime hotspots. A more useful appraisal can be found in reports from agencies that different types of problems often require different tactics and is also dependent on the type of hot-spots (Groff et al., 2015). Developments in behavioural analysis has led to crime linkage as a concept, which enables two or more crimes to be linked

together based on the offender's behaviour at the crime scene (Woodhams & Bennell, 2014). Crime linkage is increasingly seen as useful for informing police decision-making in an investigative, as well as a legal context (Woodhams et al., 2019).

1.4 Research aims and strategy

The focus of this whole thesis is an examination of sexual offences that occur on London trains. London is unique in that it has a rail network, which in 2017/2018 carried 1.741 billion passengers on the London Underground, Overground, Tram, DLR and Transport for London (TfL) rail services (Transport for London, 2018). No other city within the UK has a train network with such a large volume of passengers. In addition, this research is commissioned by BTP, who oversee the railways and do not have jurisdiction over the bus network within London, therefore, this research focuses on specifically on the rail network within London. The overall aims of this investigation are as follows:

1. To develop and produce a detailed descriptive account of SOLT in the form of a crime script, which is described in further detail in chapter 2;
2. To seek a comprehensive understanding of offenders' perspectives – how they make sense of themselves and their actions as perpetrators;
3. To develop an integrated theoretical framework.

Initially, an understanding of SOLT will be explored in an ethnographic study consisting of observations and group interviews with BTP proactive police officers, who have experience of detecting and managing sexual offences. The main objective of this initial work is to establish how police officers believe that offenders carry out SOLT, focusing on all their actions including the sexual behaviours. A secondary objective is to utilise insights about policing SOLT, to identify actions that are taken by officers looking to prevent crime events from occurring.

The focus of the second study is to gain insight from offender perspectives through offender-based research (OBR), which encompasses subjective evaluations of crime. Analysis of these data ascertains the meanings that offenders ascribe to their own violations, identifying any commonalities across offenders and where differences are present.

The final study focuses on providing further context for the crime script initially developed from study 1. In the first stage of the analysis, a large dataset of police crime records will provide the basis for a descriptive account of any associations and relationships of note. The second stage of analysis will seek to develop accounts of the different types of sexual offending behaviour.

1.5 Synopsis of chapters

Below are brief summaries of what will be covered in the seven chapters that follow.

Chapter 2

Chapter 2 sets out the context for researching SOLT and provides an initial assessment of the relevant background literature. The chapter reviews traditional psychological approaches for explaining the aetiology of sexual offending. The next section focuses on outlining what the environmental criminological theories offer in understanding sexual offending that occurs on London trains, with a focus on the factors surrounding a specific crime event. The third section reviews the contribution of narrative criminology in understanding SOLT. The final section reviews the limitations of each of the theories' capacity to explain SOLT in isolation, proposing an integrated theoretical framework.

Chapter 3

Chapter 3 begins by outlining an overview of the research design used in this thesis. This section reviews the need for mixed methods in investigating SOLT. The justification for the approaches that will be used in each study is discussed, as well as considering why an approach will not be used. Utilising mixed methods will consolidate and add a richness of understanding to the new model in development.

Chapter 4

Chapter 4 describes the first study conducted, detailing the ethnography. The main aim is to access a small sample of BTP proactive

police officers to explore their perceptions of SOLT. The analysis section is developed using a bottom-up or inductive thematic analysis, following the framework by Braun and Clarke (2006). The chapter concludes by discussing the different characteristics of the stages in the crime commission process for SOLT and developing a preliminary crime script which is refined throughout the rest of the thesis. By taking a dual approach to scripting the crime event, which defines the actions of offenders and police officers separately, the key findings can facilitate the supervision and intervention process of proactively policing of SOLT.

Chapter 5

Chapter 5 describes the second study, which marked the initial theory and model testing. Individuals who had been convicted of SOLT were interviewed. The study reported here examines:

1. How the different types of sexual offences are committed on London trains.
2. What we know about the personality traits, relationships, background and childhood context and criminal histories of sex offenders on London trains.

3. The narratives that individuals who commit SOLT present.
4. Whether there are differences between individuals who commit the different types of SOLT.

The first section of the analyses consists of a narrative analysis investigating how offenders recount their life stories and how this relates to their understanding of their offending behaviour. In the second section, the analysis is developed to look at similarities across offending behaviours. The main findings from this chapter are that there are key factors that contribute to an offender's 'readiness to offend', but that there are also situational factors that are implicated.

Chapter 6

Chapter 6 describes the quantitative analyses of archival data of 1359 sexual offences cases recorded by BTP. The study addressed the following research questions/topics:

1. Provide a descriptive analysis of the offence, victim, and offender characteristics of SOLT
2. Consideration of the associations between combinations of victim/offence characteristics
3. Consideration of whether there are differences between individuals who commit the different types of SOLT

The development of the coding dictionary which was used to extract data from the files is described. The first section of the analyses investigates the temporal and spatial aspects influencing the commission of SOLT. The second section builds on the significant associations between variables to establish initial typologies for main types of sexual behaviours within SOLT. Key findings highlight nuances within offence types with regards to when and where individuals chose to commit different offending behaviours.

Chapter 7

This chapter provides the researcher's reflexive account of the experience of conducting the studies. Personal feelings, biases, and difficulties are critically evaluated considering their perceived effects on conducting the research, as well as strategies used to mitigate them.

Chapter 8

Chapter 8 is an overall discussion of findings, outlining practical implications and recommendations, identifying limitations of the research and exploring future research possibilities. The chapter draws final conclusions from the research: outlining the success of producing a crime script of the offence that can guide the next steps for BTP and developing an integrated framework with which to guide further investigation of SOLT.

Chapter 2: Literature review and theoretical frameworks

The two research questions at the heart of this thesis – 'in what ways and why do individuals commit sexual offences on London trains (SOLT)' encompass both the commission of the offence and the reasons for offending offered by perpetrators of this type of sexual violence. Sexual Assault, Committing an Act Outraging Public Decency and Exposure are the three offence types that will be examined in this thesis, which will also be referred to, in the generic all-encompassing term, as SOLT. Whilst the core focus is the behaviours displayed in these crime events, these cannot be isolated from environmental and individual factors that may cause individuals to commit SOLT. It is proposed that the crime-script analysis will add another dimension to existing knowledge of the problem of SOLT and offer potential insights into the ways in which such offences could be prevented.

This chapter illustrates how psychological literature on the aetiology of sexual offending, considered alongside criminological theories creates a focus not just on criminality and cognitive processes but on how people interact with their physical and social environments. Additionally, literature is explored to illustrate how sexual offending can be understood within the narratives provided by those who carry out these behaviours. The premise of this chapter is to outline the theories presented that will be empirically tested in

subsequent chapters, which to date have limited empirical evidence in relation to SOLT.

2.1 Psychological theories of sexual offending

Theoretical frameworks for discussing sexual offending have moved away from classification according to the types of source theories used in their construction, e.g. cognitive, learning or biological theories (Ward, Polaschek, & Beech, 2006). Meta-theoretical frameworks presented in the context of how the relevant factors are addressed in developmental, or contemporary, experiences and processes are considered more viable (Ward & Hudson, 1998). Using this framework, Ward and Hudson (1998) distinguish between level I (multifactorial), level II (single factor) and level III (micro-level or offence process) theories. Level I theories present comprehensive explanations of sexual offending, e.g. the Integrated Theory (Marshall & Barbaree, 1990). Level II theories, on the other hand, provide fine-grained descriptions of individual factors implicated in the aetiology of sexual offending (Ward, 2014). Finally, Level III theories provide rich description of the cognitive, behavioural, motivational and contextual factors constituting the offence process (Ward, 2014; Ward & Hudson, 1998).

In evaluating the application of Level I theories to SOLT, the Integrated Theory of Sexual Offending (ITSO) is the most relevant (Ward & Beech, 2006), and will be referred to in greater depth in this chapter. As a

predecessor to the ITSO, the Integrated Theory (Marshall & Barbaree, 1990) is a comprehensive theory for sex offenders, but it is largely considered in terms of child sexual abuse and fails to adequately address the issues associated with different sexual crimes (Ward, 2002). Other prominent theories of sexual offending, such as, the precondition theory (Finkelhor, 1984), the quadripartite theory of molestation (Hall & Hirshman, 1992) and the pathway theory (Ward & Siegert, 2002) are also limited in that they focus specifically on child sexual abusers or rapists. Given their lack of application to most sexual offences that occur on London trains, these theories will not be discussed in any further detail[5].

More generic multifactorial theories illustrate how their conceptual structures are constructed, to contribute to understanding of why SOLT exists and persists (Ward, 2014). This involves examining the specific Level II theories that provide the conceptual basis for comprehensive theories, as it is these theories that explain how specific phenomena are associated with sexual offending and are assimilated into multifactor theories. Level III theories provide the finer detail of how sexual offending occurs which should not be overlooked, as these theories have the capacity to add further value to what is known about the patterns of behaviour that result in sexual offences being

[5] "While the clinical phenomena associated with different types of sexual offending overlap to some extent, there are significant differences between different types of offenders" (Ward, 2002). When considering theories for child sexual abuse, they will attempt to explain the fact that prepubescent children sexually arouse some individuals, as this is integral to this type of sexual offending. Similarly, a theory of rape will explain why rapists frequently use violence to achieve their sexual goals. Thus, these aspects are not necessarily relevant to individuals who commit SOLT, so these theories are not best fit for explaining this type of sexual offending.

committed. The following section explores Level II theories in relation to causal factors (or vulnerability risk factors), which will contribute to understanding the core features of SOLT and what causes this phenomenon. A discussion about an integrated approach to understanding vulnerability risk factors provides the basis for conceptualising the complex presentation of individuals who commit the different types of SOLT. Finally, this leads to an evaluation of theoretical frameworks that support the development of Level III theories applicable to SOLT, which can result in multi-level theory construction that imparts deep and fruitful explanations.

2.1.1. The importance of attachment theory

Theoretical developments on adverse developmental antecedents by Marshall (1989, 1993) were instrumental in integrating research on attachment theory, intimacy deficit and sexual offending. Attachment Theory (Bowlby, 1969) is utilised to understand how an infant's initial relationship and subsequent attachment with a caregiver will develop into what is called an internal working model (IWM). These interactions determine whether or not a child will develop a sense of security and create a positive template for other future relationships with others, in the social world, beyond the initial caregiver (Bretherton, 1992; Schimmenti & Bifulco, 2015).

The development of a validated model of adult attachment, which has been applied to sex offenders, has identified four categories of attachment based on the interaction of two dimensions: representations of self and

representation of others (Bartholomew, 1990; Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991). The axis representing sense of self indicates the extent to which a person has a strong internalised sense of positive self-worth. A negative sense of self corresponds with excessive anxiety and dependency on close relationships. The axis reflecting representation of others indicates the extent to which a person expects significant others to be trustworthy, supportive and an overall strength in the person's life. A negative sense of others is related to a reluctance to seek out relationships and the avoidance of emotional intimacy once in a relationship. This conceptualisation results in a two-dimensional model with four categories: secure (positive sense of self and other), insecure–preoccupied (positive sense of other, negative sense of self), insecure–dismissive (negative sense of others, positive sense of self), and insecure–fearful (negative sense of self and others), as shown in Figure 1.

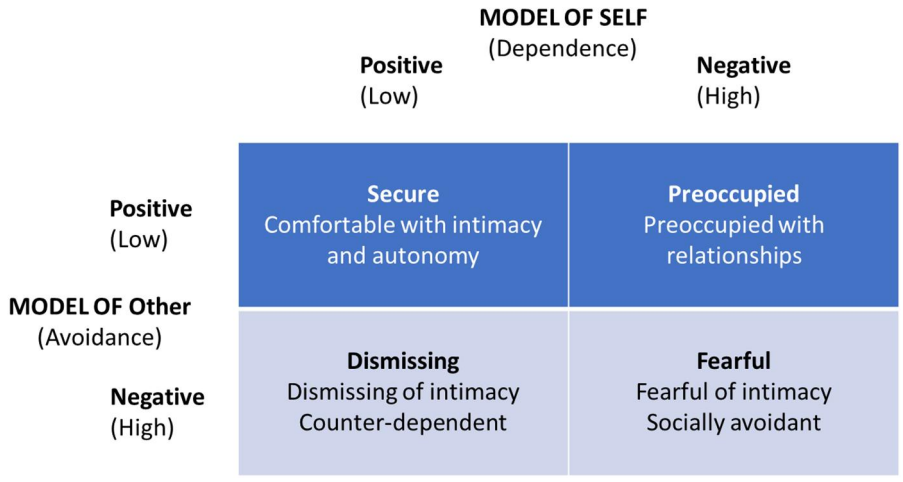


Figure 1 - Model of adult attachment (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991)

Marshall (1993) states that the failure of individuals, who have sexually offended, to develop secure parent-child attachments results in a failure of the interpersonal skills and self-confidence in adulthood to achieve intimacy with other adults (Marshall, 1993). This notion is extended further in Marshall's assertion that men who are insecurely attached will mainly try to satisfy their intimacy needs via sexual activity. Thus, attachment can be viewed as a contributory factor in the development of sexually violent behaviour (Ward, Hudson, & Marshall, 1996). However, evidence regarding whether insecure adult attachment can distinguish sexual and non-sexual offenders has not been conclusive (Lyn & Burton, 2004; Smallbone & Dadds, 1998, 2000; Ward et al., 1996). Understanding how these childhood experiences transpire and impact on the development of vulnerability factors, such as problems with intimacy in individuals who sexually offend, is imperative in the construction of a multi-level theory to understand SOLT.

Defining intimacy is not straightforward, as it assumes various meanings according to age, gender, education, and culture and there is a lack of consensus regarding its conceptual origins (Martin & Tardif, 2014). Intimacy can be considered either as dispositional, the individual abilities that are required for the experience of proximity in relationships, or as a function of interaction defined by the quality of the rapport that is formed between partners (Marshall, 1989; Martin & Tardif, 2014). Conversely, intimacy deficits are seen as relational dispositions that negatively impact on the capacity to

experience healthy intimate relationships and/or the quality of intimacy in relationships (Martin & Tardif, 2014), leading to sexualized coping and sexually abusive behaviours (Grady, Levenson, & Bolder, 2016). It is significant to note that deficits in intimacy have been applied to violent sexual offenders, such as rapists, or those expressing greater levels of force in their sexual assault rather than individuals committing SOLT (Bumby & Hansen, 1997; Seidman, Marshall, Hudson, & Robertson, 1994).

2.2 An integrated approach to understanding vulnerability factors

ITSO incorporates biological determinants, such as genetic inheritance and brain development, ecological factors including social, cultural and personal circumstances and neuropsychological factors in understanding the commission of sexual violence (Ward & Beech, 2006). Drawing on Gene-culture theory (Odling-Smee, Laland, & Feldman, 2003), genetic factors may dictate a predisposition to acquire certain types of basic needs (e.g. sex, autonomy, mastery). Whereas learning events, with their cultural context, afford a socially constructed means of achieving these valued experiences, activities and outcomes (Ward & Beech, 2006). This section outlines how the interaction between neurological systems and ecological factors influences neuropsychological functions, producing clinical risk predictors which support sexual offending behaviour.

Ward and Beech (2006) report that there are two ways in which these brain processes impact on the neuropsychological systems underlying human behaviour. Firstly, functional systems can be disrupted by brain-based abnormalities. For example, high levels of stress hormones (e.g. cortisol) can compromise the function of the action selection and control system, resulting in an individual displaying impulsive and often aggressive behaviour (Terburg, Morgan, & van Honk, 2009; Van Honk, Harmon-Jones, Morgan, & Schutter, 2010). Secondly, the calibration of systems may be directly affected by physical processes. For example, persistently high levels of sex hormones, coupled with internalised and culturally supported values on aggression as a way of expressing anger, frustration or resolving conflict, will govern the individual's behaviour (Silber, 1981). It is inconclusive as to whether known sex offenders have more testosterone in comparison with control groups (Bain et al., 1988; Giotakos, Markianos, Vaidakis, & Christodoulou, 2004; Studer, Aylwin, & Reddon, 2005; Wong & Gravel, 2016). Based on the limited evidence available, theory relating to the role of testosterone is rejected for inclusion in the theoretical model for SOLT.

Continuing with the merits of the ITSO framework for identifying the factors implicated in the aetiology of sexual offending, conceptualisation of the three key psychological systems assists understanding of the specific problems in individuals who commit SOLT. The three interlocking neuropsychological systems are motivation/emotion; perception and memory;

and action selection and control, which are heavily influenced by both biological inheritance and social learning (Pennington & Cicchetti, 2005). These systems can be compromised in several ways, resulting in an individual's adaptive functioning being challenged at various levels. The systems are explored in more detail with consideration to their role in specific facets of dysfunction.

The motivation/emotional system enables goals and values to influence motivational state depending on the situation, involving both perception and action selection (Pennington & Cicchetti, 2005). Problems in the motivation/emotional system can develop from an individual's genetic make-up or negative individual experiences, which are often described as stable dynamic risk factors for sexual offending (Hanson & Harris, 2000; Thornton, 2002). The action selection system is associated primarily with helping individuals plan, implement and evaluate action plans and to govern behaviour, thoughts and emotions to achieve individual goals (Ward & Beech, 2006). It relies on the motivation/emotional system for the goals that drive behaviour and the perception and memory system for knowledge about how to do things and the necessary facts relating to a situation.

Malfunctions in the action control and selection system are linked to problems with self-regulation, such as impulsivity and poor problem-solving skills (Ward & Beech, 2006). On the one hand, SOLT can be considered impulsive, as a malfunction of the action control and selection system.

Alternatively, the commission of SOLT could be more about deliberate, pre-planning as opposed to impulsivity. In this instance, the action selection system would be working as intended to achieve an individual's goal to commit a sexual offence. Exploration of these issues in the subsequent chapters will provide pertinent details for understanding the different pathways for individuals who commit SOLT.

Dysfunction in the perceptual and memory systems can result in maladaptive beliefs and attitudes, and difficulties in interpreting social interactions, which are underlying factors of offence supportive cognitions and cognitive distortions held by sex offenders (Carvalho & Nobre, 2014; Helmus, Hanson, Babchishin, & Mann, 2013). This neuropsychological framework provides one potential explanation of how cognitive distortions could be a relevant factor for those who commit SOLT, which locates the fault within the individual. This viewpoint obscures the issues regarding the normative aspects of certain beliefs that may contribute to the application of cognitive distortions, which will be elaborated in the next section of this chapter.

2.2.1 Clinical predictors for individuals who sexually offend

The psychological vulnerabilities discussed above can also be reconceptualised as disturbances in the relevant systems outlined (Ward & Beech, 2006). The systems are continuously interacting with each other in the context of the physical environment (proximal factors), which are directly

associated with sexual offending, creating a sexual offence related vulnerability and dictate an individual's offence pathway. Empirical evidence supports the idea that there are four clusters of predictors typically found among individuals who commit sexual offences against children and rape against adults: emotional regulation problems; cognitive distortions, social difficulties and deviant sexual arousal (Hanson & Harris, 2000; Marshall, 1989; Thornton, 2002). All of these predictors have the potential to be relevant to the context of an individual's offence pathways for the three sexual offence types under investigation, namely Sexual Assault, Committing an Act Outraging Public Decency and Exposure, on London trains.

The first cluster of clinical predictors that can be considered in relation to individuals committing SOLT are emotional problems, which can be expressed by the commission of impulsive acts or poor emotional control leading to emotionally driven behaviour (Ward & Beech, 2006). For example, compulsive masturbation in adolescence may be the end product of uncontrollable acts of pleasure or poor self-regulation, as a means of increasing self-esteem and mood issues stemming from problems with the motivation/emotional system. Deficits in emotional competency are likely to result in negative states when experiencing stressful life situations, such as relationship breakdown or losing a job. Individuals with an inability to manage these emotions and communicate in an effective way may experience *"a loss of control, which in conjunction with sexual desire, can lead an individual to either*

become disinhibited or else opportunistically use sex as a soothing strategy to meet his emotional and sexual needs" (Ward & Beech, 2006, p. 55). The likelihood of this increases when triggering factors such as substance misuse, anger and emotional breakdown are also present (Ward & Beech, 2006).

The second cluster of clinical predictors revolves around the cognitive distortions that are related to committing sexual offences, i.e. offence supportive cognitions (Ward & Beech, 2006). Cognitive distortions, in this context, are defined as self-statements made by offenders that allow them to deny, minimise, rationalise or justify their behaviour (Murphy, 1990). Ward and Keenan (1999) proposed that these beliefs (or schemas), in conjunction with how they explain, predict and interpret social situations, are 'implicit theories'. 'Implicit theories' are shaped during an offender's early life and are generated in the perception and memory system (Ward & Beech, 2006).

It is likely that individuals who commit SOLT have their own 'implicit theories', however, the degree to which there is similarity or an overlap with other sexual offenders is unknown. Furthermore, this theoretical framework does not seem enough for obtaining a full explanation of how cognitive distortions are used at different points in the crime-commission process for SOLT, or how they may change over time. This research on SOLT will explore what Marshall, Laws, and Barbaree (2013) called 'the cognition gap', by integrating ITSO with other theories outlined below to address this gap in knowledge. The theoretical framework developed within this thesis to

understand SOLT will provide empirical evidence of how deviant sexual cognitions are initiated, how they are shaped and maintained, and how they are applied to imaginary scenarios to affect current and future behaviour.

The third cluster of clinical predictors considered to be related to sexual offending is social difficulties and includes: emotional loneliness, low self-esteem, inadequacy and suspiciousness (Ward & Beech, 2006). Attachment insecurity, leading to problems establishing intimate relationships with adults, reflects a dysfunction of the motivational/emotional system (Ward et al., 1996). Empirical evidence indicates a correlation between insecure attachment and sexual offending in adolescence and adulthood (Miner, Swinburne Romine, Robinson, Berg, & Knight, 2016; Mitchell & Beech, 2011), with some evidence that insecurity in adult intimate relationships is associated with specific types of sexual offences (Lyn & Burton, 2004; Marshall, 1993; Ward et al., 1996). These observations were in relation to individuals convicted of rape and child abuse, in comparison with violent or non-violent offenders. There is little reference in such research to individuals who commit other types of sexual offending such as SOLT.

Sexual interests are the fourth cluster of clinical predictors often considered to be central to individuals who offend against children, in that perpetrators sexually abuse children because of their deviant sexual interest in children (Ward & Beech, 2006). Deviant sexual behaviour is seen as a direct product of deviant sexual preferences. Deviant sexual preferences are also

known as paraphilias - psychological disorders - which have most recently been defined in the DSM-V (p.685) as *"an intense and persistent sexual interest other than sexual interest in genital stimulation or preparatory fondling with phenotypically normal, physically mature, consenting human partners"* (APA, 2013). The DSM-V, however, specifies that these atypical sexual behaviours need to cause mental distress to a person or be a threat to the psychological and physical well-being of others to be considered a disorder (Beech, Miner, & Thornton, 2016). Thus, deviant sexual interests contribute to, but are not the same as many paraphilias.

Frotteurism and exhibitionism are the two paraphilias associated with the type of sexual offending more frequently occurring on London train.[6] Frotteurism involves the non-consensual rubbing of one's groin area against another individual for sexual gratification, usually in public places, such as on public transport (Clark, Jeglic, Calkins, & Tatar, 2016). Toucherism is used interchangeably with frotteurism (Freund, Seto, & Kuban, 1997; Freund & Watson, 1990), but can also be considered a subtype which involves sexual arousal from the exclusive use of hands on another individual's body parts (Horley, 2001). For the purpose of this thesis, the use of the terms 'toucherism' and frotteurism' refers to the behaviours and not specifically the diagnosis of a paraphilic disorder, as this is beyond the scope of the research.

[6] Detailed information on they types of sexual offences occurring on London trains will be provided in Chapters 4,5 and 6.

Critically, what is less clear about these *"criminal paraphilias"* when considered as a disorder is the nature of the dysfunction related to the paraphilic disorder and how it manifests (Moser, 2009). The use of these labels may potentially result in unusual sexual interests being blamed inappropriately for other problems, such as on the cultural context in which the diagnostic manual is embedded. (Moser & Kleinplatz, 2002).

Despite the concerns mentioned above, consideration of frotteurism and exhibitionism within the literature to explain SOLT would seem obvious, although there is limited evidence for frotteurism (Horley, 2001). Both frotteurism and exhibitionism have been associated with a disturbance of proper courtship behaviour (Freund et al., 1997). Courtship disorder can be defined as the exaggeration and distortion in the normal stages of the process of starting a sexual interaction. There is, however, a general lack of evidence to support the existence of co-occurrence between frotteurism, exhibitionism and the other paraphilic behaviours within the courtship disorder hypothesis. What may be of more importance for understanding SOLT are the sexual fantasies driving the paraphilic behaviours, rather than the proposed relationship to courtship disorder.

From a neuropsychological perspective, deviant fantasies and the ensuing deviant arousal arise through the culmination of the three areas of dysfunctional psychological functioning described above (Ward & Beech, 2006). First, problems in the motivational/emotional system impact on the

ability to successfully manage attachment issues and mood problems, in the context of dysfunctional schema (problems in their perception and memory system) which could result in deviant sexual fantasies and sexual pre-occupation. These problems together with a failure to regulate sexual desire (again relating to the motivation/emotional system) might drive an individual to address their emotional and sexual needs using sex or sexual aggression. As discussed earlier, this type of sexual coping behaviour may manifest itself in the form of SOLT (see Figure 2).

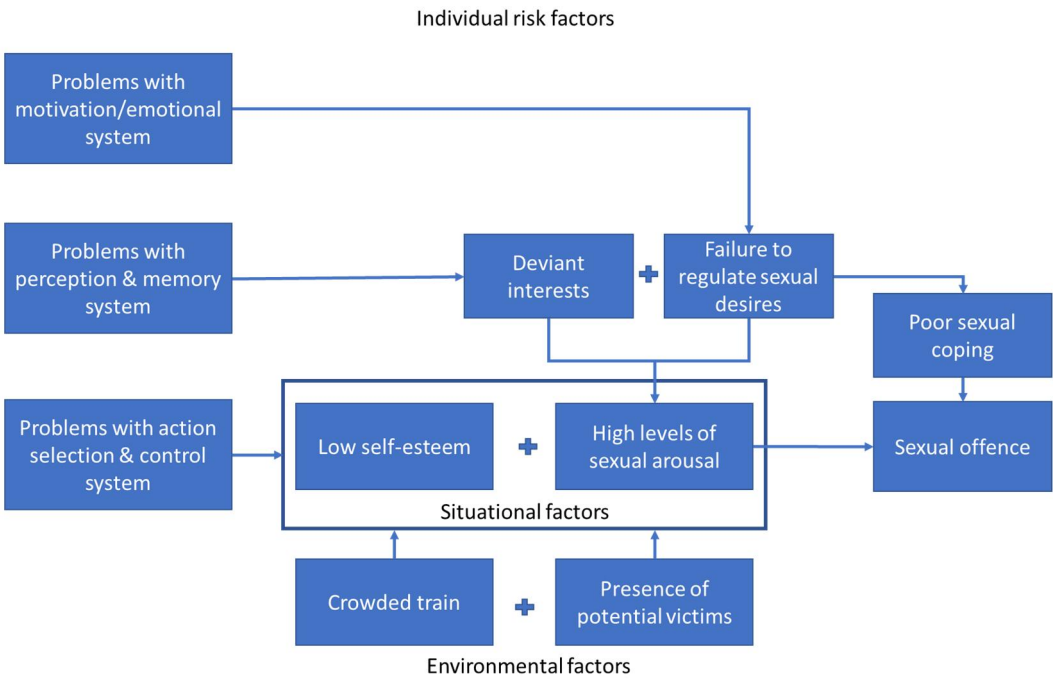


Figure 2 – Proposed application of the ITSO theory relating to the dysfunction in the neuropsychological systems for the occurrence of SOLT

For example, an individual may experience a problem in the action selection and control systems and subsequent low self-control. This dysfunction, in conjunction with high levels of sexual arousal driven by deviant interests, in a

crowded train situation and in the presence of potential victims, could be a trigger to carry out a sexual assault, as a way of managing emotions. It should be noted, however, that cultural and social factors are not prominent within this model, which could be vital when understanding Sexual Assault, Committing an Act Outraging Public Decency and Exposure offences, within the London train network.

The ITSO clearly outlines the aetiology of sexual offending, which will be central to the theoretical development of SOLT. The ITSO perspective suggests that the consequences of sexually inappropriate behaviour will shape the outcome of whether an individual maintains or increases the behaviour. The ITSO framework also acknowledges that ecological influences trigger offending behaviour in certain situations, e.g. the cultural inheritance that females are considered as sexual objects, may support sexual offending. Appraisal of the ITSO model suggests there is potential to draw on further theory, to examine the influence of factors such as culture in relation to cognitive distortions and to incorporate more ecological factors, including situational factors relevant to SOLT. In following this endeavour, theoretical interest is extended from traditional psychological literature on sex offending to explore the relevant area of environmental criminology and realise a more comprehensive theory for explaining SOLT.

2.3 Environmental criminology

Building on the idea of ecological factors mentioned above, environmental criminology offers a different approach to the understanding of SOLT. Offering an alternative perspective to traditional sex offending literature, environmental criminology concentrates on understanding crime events as confluences of offenders, victims or criminal targets, and the particular times and places of crime settings, looking for patterns and seeking to explain them in terms of environmental influences (Brantingham & Brantingham, 1991; Wortley & Mazerolle, 2008). Rather than focussing solely on the variable or set of variables thought to explain an individual's predisposition to offending, environmental criminology (also known as crime-event criminology) acknowledges that an offender is but one piece of any crime. More than the inclination to offend, there is requirement for the opportunity to do so, with the absence of someone or something to intervene. Environmental criminology also presumes that there will be some situations that offer more opportunity than others (e.g. more victims/targets, fewer bystanders to intervene), which explains the non-random spatial and temporal distribution of crime events (Wilcox & Gialopsos, 2015).

Opposition to theories focussing on individual-level propensity to criminal behaviour grew as they failed to predict with any accuracy those offenders who would become serious offenders or when and what criminal behaviour they would commit (Sampson & Laub, 2003, 2005; Weisburd & Piquero,

2008). Although the ITSO highlights the interplay between genes and the environment, there is still a greater emphasis on dispositional traits as the underlying causal mechanisms resulting in sexual offending. There is a lack of situational explanations for understanding the root causes of the behaviour of individuals who sexually offend, which could be seen as a fundamental attribution error of the researcher (Ross, 1977). This becomes relevant when seeking to understand the rationalisations, justifications and minimisations offered by offenders, which are likely to be situational rather than dispositional (Maruna & Mann, 2006). The inclusion of the immediate environmental conditions of a crime event alongside explanations for how an individual becomes predisposed to criminal behaviour, can also provide insight into how individuals are actually driven to commit a criminal act (Wikstrom, 1995). This can help differentiate between the crime commission process for sexual offences, such as rape in a park and sexual assaults on London railways.

Environmental criminology takes a situational approach to the study of how crime occurs, focusing on the conditions in relation to time and place which will create more opportunities to motivated offenders. This approach encompasses several specific overlapping perspectives and theories, as outlined in Table 1. Collectively, these perspectives and theories contribute to an in-depth account of criminal opportunity and how it influences crime events, enabling situational crime prevention (SCP) strategies to be developed

in response to specific crime problems, such as SOLT (Clarke, 1983). For this research project, RAT, RCP and SCP will be discussed in further detail within this chapter, as they have greatest relevance to the nature of police deployment in relation to crime reduction for SOLT.

Table 1 - Environmental criminological theories

Environmental criminological theories	Theorists
Routine activity theory (RAT)	Cohen and Felson (1979)
Rational choice perspective (RCP)	Cornish and Clarke (1986)
Offender search-crime pattern theory	Brantingham and Brantingham (2008)
Environmental design theory	Jeffery (1977)
Social control theory	Hirschi (1969, 1977)
Multilevel opportunity theory	Cullen, Wilcox, Wilcox, Gialopsos, and Land (2012)

2.3.1 Routine Activity Theory (RAT)

The routine activity approach offers a simple theoretical approach to micro and macro explanation of how crime rates emerge (Cohen & Felson, 1979) and provides a good basis for considering SOLT as crime events. This approach proposed that the occurrence of a crime event was determined by

interactions between the routine activities of different actors in a particular crime setting. Cohen and Felson (1979) identified three types of actors within a crime setting: motivated offenders, suitable targets and capable guardians. Direct contact crimes such as SOLT, require the convergence in space and time of a motivated offender, at least one suitable target (a person who is assaulted), in the absence of a capable guardian, resulting in a crime opportunity. The crux of the routine activity perspective is that crime is dependent on opportunity, however, this rationale is insufficient on its own, given the large number of individuals – motivated or otherwise - that travel on the tube during rush hour and do not commit a sexual offence. Therefore, other concepts within the theory can offer greater application to understanding SOLT, for example, exploration of what constitutes a 'motivated offender' and the role of 'capable guardians'.

Although RAT paid less attention to the nature of the motivation in the 'motivated offender', this approach has stimulated theoretical developments and generated empirical findings on crime patterns. Offender motivation is not sufficient in and of itself to explain the occurrence of crime events, as most offenders are not driven by an inexorable urge to commit crime (Nee & Meenaghan, 2006). The motivation to offend may be triggered or increased in situations where the offending act is easy and rewarding, which supports the situational motivation concept (Briar & Piliavin, 1965). For example, an individual commuting daily on a busy train to and from work, will have

regular exposure to being in confined spaces. They will be near others, whom they might find attractive, which makes potential contact sexually arousing. If an opportunity to offend is considered easy and rewarding, there is an increase in the likelihood of the activity re-occurring (Bernburg & Thorlindsson, 2001).

Whilst there is literature that lends some support to the notion of the organised and disorganised offender, especially in relation to violent offences, such as sexual murders (Mjanes, Beauregard, & Martineau, 2017), there is little to suggest that this extends to all offenders. Thus, offenders (as well as victims) may live highly patterned and routinized lives, which may vary slightly depending on the time of day, the day of the week, or the month of the year. This is observed in travel routines, where often people travel at approximately the same time and will often board a train in the same location on a regular basis. Over a period of time, individuals develop 'awareness space' about the area of which they possess some knowledge, which has been developed through exposure to routine activities (Brantingham & Brantingham, 1995; Brown & Moore, 1970).

Although RAT originated from alternative, diverse ideas about how the US society's technology and organisation affect crime; it has evolved over time (Felson, 2013; Tillyer & Eck, 2011). RAT has been used to explain a broad range of crime types, including sexual assault (Deslauriers-Varin & Beauregard, 2010). RAT has been extended to involve other actors who provide informal social control within a crime event, such as handlers and

place managers (Felson, 1986). The notion of offender handler was introduced by Felson (1986), to describe an individual – often a close relative or role model – who had the ability to positively influence an offender's behaviour.

The role of a place manager was later added, who was the person responsible for the place at which crime can occur, challenging an offender's ability to offend within it (Eck, 1994, 2003). A place manager was also deemed to be someone who has the power to regulate the use of that setting to prevent crime occurring (Eck, 1995). BTP would fall under this remit, as it is not feasible for them to take the role of guardian, who have the direct responsibility of protecting and reducing the vulnerability of victims/target (Cohen & Felson, 1979). Figure 3 emphasises the presence of others who might supervise a person/setting (Clarke & Eck, 2005). Also known as 'crime controllers', they are supervisors within the crime problem context; their absence makes a crime feasible and increases the likelihood of crime occurring. Thus, a crime is committed when the offender escapes handlers; finds targets not being supervised by guardians; in settings not watched by place managers. The overall identification and inclusion of the crime controller within models has become a significant part of crime prevention (Leclerc, 2014), with the role of place managers being discussed further on in this chapter.

More recently, the RAT model has been developed to include a group of 'super controllers' (Sampson, Eck, & Dunham, 2010), people or groups who regulate the behaviour of controllers (e.g. BTP) through the use of incentives. Sampson et al. (2010) identified three types of super controllers, all capable of influencing each other: formal, diffuse and personal.

Figure 3 - The crime triangle (after Clarke & Eck, 2005)

Super controllers in the formal category use their legal, financial or social authority within a recognised institution, for example Transport for London (TfL), Network Rail and the Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime (MOPAC). The social media movements Everyday Sexism and Hollaback are categorised as diffuse controllers, who influence crime prevention efforts through legislation, publicity or market pressure. Lastly, there can be personal super controllers that have informal ties with the controller, such as peer groups or family members. There may be several super controllers influencing

each controller to varying degrees, and with the possibility of demanding competing solutions to the crime problem.

RAT has been called a *Tinkertoy theory*[7] (Eck & Madensen, 2015), recognising that whilst the model may appear simple, it has evolved over time and there are important aspects of the model which should be emphasised. First, there are likely to be multiple controllers and super controllers for each target, offender and place. The second point is that the offender, victim/targets, handlers, guardians, place managers and super controllers are roles, which are not mutually exclusive. It is possible for actors to fulfil multiple roles, for example, a train station guard (a potential place manager) might also become a victim if they are assaulted on the platform. Other developments of RAT included the amalgamation with other theories to focus on explaining victimisation (McNeeley, 2015; Pratt & Turanovic, 2016), but more relevant for this research is the potential for being linked to practical policies against crime (Felson & Clarke, 1998).

Identifying and understanding the patterns and routine behaviours of individuals who commit SOLT, may be pertinent and useful for BTP. There is then the potential for BTP to operationalise strategies, such as deploying proactive police officers at specific times, to certain station locations, predicting and preventing crime. Whilst RAT also suggested a decisional

[7] A phrase coined to describe the similarities between toys and theory; in that they are abstractions of a far more complex reality (Eck & Madensen, 2015).

offender was involved, the approach does not explicitly outline the decision-making process. The evolution of RAT requires the combining of the geography of crime, environmental criminology, situational prevention and models of offender choices (Felson, 2013). Despite these developments, RAT has a different emphasis to the Level I theories of sexual offending discussed earlier, due to the lack of comprehensive explanations regarding the decision-making process. The inclusion of RAT in a conceptual framework that seeks to explain SOLT at various levels of analysis, broadens understanding about the roles/actors within this phenomenon, but does not account for their motivation.

2.3.2 The Rational Choice Perspective (RCP)

RCP suggests that theory focusing on how crime happens, including the roles individuals play, has greater leverage than theorising about criminal behaviour as the outcome of stable motivations (Clarke & Cornish, 2013). Originating from a departure of viewing criminal dispositions and psychopathology as the cause of offending, Cornish and Clarke (1986) conceptualised crime as the outcome of rational choices on the part of the offenders. Offenders are viewed as reasoning individuals, who use environmental cues within particular crime settings to inform their decisions about whether (or not) they will commit particular crimes and how this will be done. Incorporating this viewpoint within this thesis, allows a closer look at the aspects of SOLT that may differ from other types of sexual offending,

identifying the unique environmental and situational factors relevant to an individual's decision-making to commit the offence. As with other normal decision-making processes, where decisions made are confined by political, social, personal, environmental and financial issues, a potential offender is still required to decide whether and how to offend in particular circumstances (Ashby, 2016).

RCP has some merits for being applied to the study of SOLT, building on the roles discussed within the RAT framework and incorporating vulnerability factors such as cognitive distortions in the decision-making process. There is, however, still a deficit in this theoretical understanding of the decision-making process of potential offenders, as these approaches fail to consider the role of a person's moral position and beliefs (Etzioni, 2010). Moral evaluations that inhibit an individual from acting in a way that is morally wrong may be a greater deterrent than the fear of the consequences of their action. The incorporation of individuals' moral considerations in the development of a crime script for SOLT can provide an understanding of the context in which such behaviour occurs.

Another critique of RCP is that it assumes that offenders are more rational than they really are, which is more an adverse consequence of Clarke and Cornish choosing the term 'rational choice'. They believed that offenders make decisions in the same way that people make day-to-day decisions, i.e. rationality is how people decide what action to take, based on their perception

of how to successfully achieve their goals. They argue that even irrational and pathological offenders would make decisions as to how to commit a particular offence (Clarke & Cornish, 1985). The degree to which offenders are rational is debatable, although it is reasonable to conclude that offenders must demonstrate some rationality, otherwise they would be just as likely to (for example) expose themselves to others in front of a uniformed police officer as in an empty train carriage. On the other hand, it is apparent that offenders do not show efficacy in their rationality, as many are apprehended and are sentenced[8], which would not generally be considered a decision in their best interests.

On this premise, it is important for crime prevention purposes to understand the decision-making process and the factors weighing those decisions, so these factors can be changed. This series of decisions was later conceptualised by Cornish (1994b) as a crime script, which will be discussed in further detail in the crime script section later in the chapter. Establishing the degree to which an offender's decision-making is rational, requires consideration of both the contextual factors that confine decision-making and understanding of why a person may make a decision that is considered irrational by others, under these circumstances. There are two possible

[8] In the case of sexual offences, the conviction rate for 2014 was 33%, however this had fallen to 15.2% in 2016.

explanations of the latter point, pertaining to failures of information and to failures of information processing (Ashby, 2016).

Failures of information refer to an offender holding flawed knowledge about their situation, i.e. not knowing relevant things which would help in their decision-making process in relation to a particular crime, which could include not knowing that their behaviour constitutes an offence (Low, 1988). In most cases, offenders make inaccurate estimations of the likelihood of being caught, although persistent offenders make more accurate estimates than occasional ones (Saltzman, Paternoster, Waldo, & Chiricos, 1982). Offenders may also not have enough knowledge about their immediate surroundings when committing an offence. Returning to the previous example, the offender who chooses to expose themselves in a quiet train carriage may not know that the individual they are exposing themselves to is an off-duty police officer. There are numerous pieces of information or things that may have influenced their decisions had they have known.

Even when faced with near 'perfect knowledge' regarding a situation, it is generally not possible to apply 'perfect rationality' to that information. Drawing on evidence from behavioural sciences, the prospect theory offers insight on the cognitive influences on decision making, albeit primarily in monetary terms (Kahneman & Tversky, 1979). Behavioural economics suggests that people do not make decisions by making careful costs/benefits analysis, but instead use strategies that involve disregarding some of the

information that is available with the aim of making decisions more quickly, frugally, and/or accurately than more complex methods (Gigerenzer & Gaissmaier, 2010). On the one hand, this use of heuristics is linked to error-prone decisions and rationalities, which opposes the rational choice supposition that individuals make decisions in a 'normal' way. On the other hand, other people's decision-making suffers from the same flaws, so this could also be deemed 'normal'. Either way, identifying what strategies are used by individuals that make the decision to sexually offend on London trains will deepen our understanding and is a fruitful way forward.

In contemplating the decision-making strategies of those committing SOLT, another relevant example of cognitive bias and heuristics that lies along the same continuum as cognitive distortions (discussed in previous sections) is confirmation bias. Confirmation bias is the propensity for people to overweigh information that is aligned with and supports their pre-existing beliefs, whilst applying less weight to information that diverges from those beliefs (Nickerson, 1998). This endorses the findings of De Haan and Vos (2003), which suggest that once street robbers had decided to commit an offence, new information was unlikely to alter their decision. Correspondingly, under a certain threshold, people seem to be oblivious to fluctuations in the probabilities of unlikely events, in so much as they do not discriminate between a 1 in 100,000 chance and 1 in a million chance of a risky event occurring (Kunreuther, Novemsky, & Kahneman, 2001).

To overcome this cognitive bias, people require the context information around any probability calculations in relation to risk to make an informed risk judgement in relation to committing an offence. Furthermore, offender calculations and decisions are likely to be made under time pressures or other stresses, which Keinan, Friedland, and Ben-Porath (1987) found were associated with a decrease in the quality of people's decision-making. An individual's failure to sufficiently complete the basic elements of the decision-making process, i.e. the systematic consideration of all relevant decision alternatives, was induced by stressors within any given situation. The risk assessment of committing a SOLT is likely to be subject to time pressures in a relatively fluid environment, which provides an account for how the situational factors in combination with individual characteristics influence the decision-making process. This will be of importance when considering crime prevention, as making changes to the environment, and indeed the social context, has the potential to manipulate decision-making abilities.

A Rational Choice Approach to Sexual Offenders

RCP rationale supports a crime specific approach to studying crime, rather than making enquiries about crime in general, on the basis that a reasoning criminal (taking account of the above caveats) will make decisions constructed on the specifics of the crime being committed (Clarke & Cornish, 2013). This argument can be understood in two ways, the first is that the desired outcome driving the behaviour is likely to vary depending on the type

of offending. For example, someone who takes upskirting photos to upload to a website for praise or admiration has a different goal from someone who takes the pictures for their own sexual gratification which is not shared with others. The nuances between these two situations can be explored through individuals' accounts of their motivation to offend, highlighting the potential benefit of also accessing their narrative as part of documenting the crime commission process.

The second reason decision-making may be crime specific is that the situational factors within the crime event are likely to influence the chance of the offender achieving their preferred outcome. For example, the time of day may be an important situational factor for individuals who inappropriately touch women on the tube. The temporal aspect of the act will be different, yet still important, but may be less relevant for those who inappropriately touch a colleague at work. Taking a crime specific approach to the study of under-researched crime problems, such as SOLT, can uncover aspects of a crime that are specific to that problem, and assist with defining the limits of the applicability of previous research.

Empirical evidence exploring sexual offending behaviour illustrates that behaviour is not stable and is influenced by situational factors, (Deslauriers-Varin & Beauregard, 2010). Although, opposing research evidence on crime linkage has also suggested that there is behavioural similarity with the crime commission process (Woodhams, Hollin, & Bull, 2007). Beauregard and

Leclerc (2007) conducted semi-structured interviews with a sample of 69 serial sexual offenders in order to identify the rationale behind their actions during the pre-crime phase (e.g. premeditation of the crime and estimation of risk of apprehension by the offender), crime phase (e.g. use of a weapon, use of restraints, and level of force used), and the post-crime phase (event leading to the end of crime). The decision-making process involved showed that these individuals were capable, up to a certain point, of an analysis of the costs/benefits related to their actions. The findings highlighted the important role of situational factors, such as victim resistance on the decision-making process of sex offenders (Beauregard & Leclerc, 2007). Further studies exploring the relationship between the behavioural and geographic elements of crimes committed by sex offenders, enables the development of models of offending processes (Beauregard, Proulx, Rossmo, Leclerc, & Allaire, 2007). The benefit of using this analytic framework to examine the process of offending, is that it provides an opportunity to describe and understand an offender's behaviour patterns specific to SOLT, which can be encapsulated in the crime script format.

2.3.3 Crime scripts

All crimes will comprise a series of decisions and actions culminating in a process for each specific crime, which justifies the utility of crime scripts for SOLT. To pull this together and assist with analysis of the entire crime commission process for SOLT within this thesis, the concept of the script is

proposed (Cornish, 1994b). Originating from the cognitive science field, the best known illustration of a script in psychology is the restaurant script (Schank & Abelson, 1977), in which there is a description of the sequence of actions that must be taken by a customer of going to eat in a restaurant. Cornish (1994b) propositioned the notion of a crime script, also described as a schema event, which *"organizes our knowledge about how to understand and enact commonplace behavioral processes or routines"* (p.32). Analogous to the Level III theories described in sex offending literature, scripts can account for offence processes that provide the touchstone for the theoretical framework for examining SOLT (Ward & Hudson, 1998).

Criminal acts can be dissected into interdependent stages consisting of a chain of decisions and actions designed to attain the overarching goal of the crime. These chain of decisions can provide insight into how offenders problem solve in relation to the issues of perceived risk, effort, and benefits related to specific crimes and situations (Cornish & Clarke, 2002). Adopting qualitative techniques and methodologies can potentially produce rich descriptive micro-theories for SOLT that address the degree to which planning is present, identifying the point in the offence chain that this takes place, the particular offending style etc. (Ward & Hudson, 1998). Equally relevant to this thesis, analysis in this form can also identify points at which crime controllers can potentially intervene to prevent SOLT occurring.

In order to meet the aims outlined for this thesis, crime scripts need to be specific enough to be of use, but not so specific that they reduce the potential of a script for analysing future crimes that are not identical to those that have occurred before (Borrion, 2013; Ekblom & Gill, 2016). It is anticipated that a *universal script*[9] will not be sufficient for explaining the process of SOLT. Scripts should be viewed as flexible representations of event sequences over a prolonged period in which later events are a product of events earlier in the sequence, or *tracks*. *Tracks* are the variations that explain an individual's response to the different approaches taken in any given set of circumstances (Cornish, 1994b), which could provide further insight into the nuances in the different ways sexual offences are committed on the trains.

Script analysis of crime enables the identification of three key aspects of crime processes required for crime prevention: (a) the units of a crime occurrence, which are frequently interconnected, (b) they often consist of scenes, actors, resources and location, and (c) they are potentially consistent in actions, whereby future are crimes likely to be similar to previous ones. The identification of decision points that occur before a criminal act has taken place can provide more opportunities to implement prevention measures (Brayley, Cockbain, & Laycock, 2011).

[9] The universal script involves standardized script scenes or functions that are arranged in order, namely preparation, entry, pre-condition, instrumental pre-condition, instrumental initiation, instrumental actualization, doing, post-condition and exit scenes (Cornish, 1994a).

The extent to which a crime script can be regarded as valuable for crime prevention/intervention, will be contingent on the regularity with which the criminal behaviour is displayed. There is a reliance on offenders using certain crime processes in a habitual manner, so that over time, the frequent offender gives little consideration to the way in which they commit a particular offence in similar situations to those in which they have previously offended. Consistent with the heuristic decision-making discussed in the previous section on RCP, Nee and Meenaghan (2006) established that burglary offenders are likely to *"operate using the same bounded, almost habitual decision-making processes that all experienced individuals use to navigate quickly and effectively around their world"* (p.936). On this basis, the processes observed in previous offences through crime scripting SOLT can be the means used to predict future instances with some accuracy. There is a wealth of evidence in the review of crime linkage literature on sex offenders, to show sufficient behavioural consistency and distinctiveness for their crimes to be linked (Bennell, Mugford, Ellingwood, & Woodhams, 2014).

Analysing crime processes with the use of crime scripts is being increasingly employed, in the absence of alternative procedures, to inform crime prevention measures. Given that they have been 'good enough' to be applied to studies for different types of offences, this thesis applies a crime-script analysis to SOLT using the quality assurance checklist proposed by Borrion (2013). Chapter 3 provides full details of the methodology used to

produce the SOLT scripts. The resulting preliminary script from the first study will be developed throughout this thesis. One of the benefits of scripts, is that they can be created from partial or incomplete data and later modified as more information becomes available (Brayley et al., 2011).

2.4 Situation crime prevention

The environmental theories discussed thus far, have concluded that offenders and offences are reasonably predictable. These theories acknowledge that potential offenders, crime opportunities and crime events consist of very specific contextual characteristics, which collectively make understanding, solving and preventing all crimes rather problematic (Lee, 2010). Fundamentally, situational prevention is based on a central tenet of modern psychology that all behaviour arises from a person-situation interaction (Wortley, 2010). Although more recently situational crime prevention (SCP) has become subsumed under the umbrella heading of environmental criminology theories. The intersection of criminological theory and criminal justice policy should be a preferred strategy for developing effective crime prevention strategies, as crimes seem to be preventable with these conditions (Sherman, Farrington, Welsh, & MacKenzie, 2002). Lee (2010) argues that *"situational crime prevention (SCP) strategies are evidence that theoretically designed prevention strategies are practical and efficient ways to manage the diversity of criminal offending"* (p.263). As the research for this

thesis is in collaboration with BTP, the inclusion of a SCP approach within the framework for addressing SOLT may add to police innovation.

Over time, the elements of SCP have been expanded, modified, and refined, but fundamentally, SCP includes manipulating criminal opportunities through surveillance, target hardening, and environmental management (Clarke, 1983). These measures are achieved the systematic study of possible means of blocking opportunities to commit offences, which has identified 25 opportunity-reducing techniques to prevent crime. These techniques fall under five categories: increase the effort needed for the offender to commit the offence, increasing the risk of being detected, reducing the rewards gained from committing the offence, reducing provocations which further induce and individual to offend and remove excuses. Operationally, SCP techniques offer opportunity-reducing measures for those responsible for the management, design and oversight of an environment.

Whilst there may be merits in applying the 25 techniques of situational prevention derived from a combination of the perspectives already discussed (Clarke & Eck, 2003; Cornish & Clarke, 2003b), some of the techniques (e.g. disrupt markets) are irrelevant in the context of SOLT. Of most relevance to this thesis are the specific techniques relating to the categories: increasing the risks, reducing the rewards and removing excuses. Conceptualising SCP in this manner, is consistent with the theoretical development of the rational choice and routine activities perspectives (Clarke & Cornish, 1985; Cornish & Clarke,

1986, 1987) and provides a better specification of the process of criminal motivations for SOLT.

A further development ensued following suggestions that offender perceptions should be recognised within SCP conceptualisation (Clarke & Homel, 1997), such that SCP can include targeted manipulation of offenders' emotions of guilt and shame. Consequently, in recognition of the emotional and psychological processes involved in criminal decision-making, SCP goes beyond the confines of modification of the physical environment. It could be argued, however, that this would depend on the offender types, as outlined by Cornish and Clarke (2003b), as to which would be the most effective model for situational prevention to be employed. The proposed offender typology suggested: anti-social predators, mundane offenders and provoked offenders are based on the strength of the offender's criminal disposition and the influence of precipitators on the offender's rational choice to offend (Cornish & Clarke, 2003b). Each typology is based on the degree of 'readiness to offend' that an individual brings to a situation in conjunction with their moral underpinnings.

It is unclear to what extent individuals who commit SOLT are 'predators', 'mundane offenders' or 'provoked offenders' (Cornish & Clarke, 2003b). The person-situation interaction that is central to SCP allows for the separation of involvement decisions from event ones. Involvement processes pertain to motivational issues, such as *"the continued presence of moral and*

prudential considerations in the case of mundane offenders makes their readiness a much more selective, revisable and tentative commitment" (Cornish & Clarke, 2003b, p. 23). This notion of developing SCP measures by specifying strategies for removing excuses, based on the psychological motivations in criminal decision-making is a point for exploration in the context of SOLT. At this point, there is once more acknowledgement of the need for an understanding of individual offender motivations, albeit in the context of the crime situation. The following section outlines an approach that can achieve this objective and provides a further piece in the meta-theoretical jigsaw, which would feed into policing SOLT.

2.5 Narrative criminology

Understanding offender motivation and the 'why' individuals commit SOLT is one element being explored within this thesis, therefore, this section considers the role of narrative criminology (NC) in enhancing this aspect of theoretical development. NC is an inquiry based on the view of stories, focusing on the process of narratives in inspiring and motivating harmful behaviour, and how narratives assist in the sense-making of the harm caused (Presser & Sandberg, 2015). Focusing on narratives has been applied across the disciplines, featuring in psychology, sociology, history, literature and cultural studies. Within the humanities and social sciences, an enacted narrative can be viewed as the most typical form of social life (MacIntyre, 1981). A narrative approach to the explanations given of how and why SOLT

are committed from this perspective is valuable, even though seen through the subjective lens of an individual's own accounts of their actions.

A narrative is a type of discourse which can be accessed in the form of reports, chronicles, expositions, metaphors, dialogues and arguments; following experiences or events over time with a point being made (Presser & Sandberg, 2015). This form naturally lends itself to the interviews with offenders about their involvement with SOLT. Narratives frequently make a moral point, and when the main protagonist is oneself providing the narrative, it usually concerns who the self is in the world. Arguably, this may take on an unusual dynamic, when offenders provide a narrative which is an account of themselves carrying out illegal acts. Preceding discussions have highlighted the benefits of exploring both intrinsic and situational motivational factors involved in an individual's decision to commit SOLT. Utilising NC to achieve this objective is both plausible, and complementary to the theory construction of SOLT.

The relationship between narrative and experience can be conceptualised in three ways (Ricoeur, 1984). First, narrative can be viewed as a historical record of what occurred - an objective representation of experience. Second, narrative can be seen as an objective interpretation of experience through a subjective lens. Third, narrative may be a shaper of experience, whereby experience is understood and acted upon as it is storied. This conceptualisation was chosen for this research endeavour. This decision

was made because narrative as a shaper of experience goes beyond simply engaging more with individual perceptions of the past, a narrative having the ability to enlighten us about past, present and future behaviour according to the narrator (Presser, 2010). Adopting a more encompassing approach to narrative is consistent with the aim of developing a comprehensive Level I theory for SOLT, which explores the interaction of multiple factors.

2.5.1 The role of storylines within narrative

This section introduces storylines and evaluates the various ways in which they manifest and shape narrative. Typically, a storyline is an interrelated set of events, that occur in the presence of certain conditions over a set period, which increases the probability that individuals will commit certain crimes. The storyline also contains the individual's perception of and reaction to crime events, which may include the settings for interaction with the victim, interactions with others, as well as a variety of individual characteristics. This element of the narrative firmly supports the psychological perspective, from the ITSO introduced at the beginning of the chapter, which also seeks to explain the mechanisms underpinning an individual's thoughts and perceptions during offending behaviour. The non-criminal endings within storylines also have important practical and policy implications (Agnew, 2006), which can contribute to the implementation of situational crime prevention measures, as discussed above. These elements will contribute to illuminating

the finer details within offence process for SOLT, to include the impact of the vulnerability factors and decision-making processes.

Storylines can be distinguished from the 'accounts' and 'neutralisations' that offenders use to explain their crimes (Maruna & Copes, 2005; Scully & Marolla, 1984; Sykes & Matza, 1957). Accounts and neutralisations are often a selective and slightly inaccurate portrayal of events and conditions leading up to the commission of a crime, described in ways which are advantageous to the individual. Whereas, storylines feature all the key events and conditions that contribute to a crime, frequently including accounts and neutralisations as part of storylines. It is possible that certain storylines may be offered because they are conducive to SOLT. For example, the use of 'denial of responsibility' (the inability to control's one behaviour) as a neutralisation technique, may be used in a storyline involving a relationship breakdown to explain temporary distress and uncharacteristic behaviour.

The vulnerability (or background) factors discussed earlier in this chapter, refer to the individual's usual positioning in relation to individual traits such as self-control (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990). Exploration of narratives for individuals committing SOLT will show that storylines are distinguishable from vulnerability factors in two ways. First, there will be a difference in the events that initiate storylines and background factors for these offences. Initiating events can include various types of relational breakdown, temporary breaks with conventional institutions, all of which can

temporarily alter variables that are commonly considered to be vulnerability factors (Agnew, 2006). For example, a relationship breakdown could result in a temporary decrease in the individual's level of self-control, illustrating a degree of overlap between the variables that account for background factors and storylines.

The second distinction is that storylines involve temporary deviation from the individual's usual stance, acknowledging that these variables (i.e. self-control) are not stable over time and may vary radically depending on context. This proposition is at odds with theory and research maintaining that variables, such as self-control, are stable over long periods of time and indeed throughout the life-course (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990). Storylines can give an indication of the degree of 'rationality' shown by an individual at the time of an offence, as considered from the RCP, with the additional explanation for why it may vary for each occasion. The compatibility of storylines within narratives and the role of vulnerability factors in sexual offending, allow these perspectives to be merged together in the theoretical framework for exploring and understanding why individuals commit SOLT.

Empirical findings from the study by Ha and Beauregard (2016) with 69 male repeat sex offenders, suggest a partitioned effect of low self-control on behaviours during different stages of a sex assault, indicating that situational factors impact the direct effects of low self-control. Whilst data illustrated temporal patterns and ways in which individuals can be described in

terms of their general position relating to those situational factors that influence crime, it was the narrative and storylines that help account for such fluctuations (Agnew, 2006). Some caution, however, should be applied to the generalisability of these findings given the low sample size. Nevertheless, understanding the spatial or temporal elements pertaining to their influence on an individual committing SOLT may prove fruitful to SCP, as crime controllers seek to intervene or introduce prevention measures to affect key decision-making points.

Situational factors can be both the characteristics of the individual and the individual's environment immediately prior to the crime occurring (Birkbeck & LaFree, 1993; Clarke & Cornish, 1985). They can include individual characteristics, such as a negative emotional state; interactions such as victim resistance; and the characteristics of settings, such as the absence of 'capable guardians' and the presence of 'attractive targets' for crime (Beauregard, Lussier, & Proulx, 2005; Felson, 2002). These variables may only remain 'active' for a few moments, influencing whether individuals – especially those predisposed to offending behaviour – commit crimes in specific situations. Again, the influence of situational variables appears associated with the offender typology, and in the context of SOLT, it may also explain whether it is the actions or intentions that make a person more/less predatory, or if it is a combination of both.

The benefit of taking a narrative criminological perspective is that it enables both understanding about the instigation of crime and desistance from it. There are narratives that are conducive to crime (Agnew, 2006) and self-narratives that contribute to whether or not offenders reconstruct their identities so that criminality is not a part of their identity (Maruna, 2001). Agnew (2006) provides a description of five storylines conducive to crime, however, there are only two that appear relevant to SOLT, which are 'a brief, tempting opportunity for crime' and 'a temporary break with conventional others and/or institutions'. The other storylines are more appropriate for other crime types and so will not be discussed.[10]

'A brief, tempting opportunity for crime' storyline has two key elements – something happens which causes the individual to perceive that the benefits of crime are high in comparison to the low costs of crime. Or they may find themselves in a position where they have identified an attractive target for a crime and an absence of capable guardians. The opportunity is likely to be passing and so the individual may feel the need to seize it. This storyline encompasses social learning, rational choice and routine activities theories in the explanations for crime.

The 'temporary break with conventional others and/or institutions' may have the effect of reducing an individual's stake in conformity and is

[10] The remaining three storylines that were irrelevant were 'a desperate need for money', 'an unresolved dispute' and 'a brief, but close involvement with a criminal other(s)' (Agnew, 2006).

likely to increase their strain. This effect may be more pronounced when a job loss or relationship breakdown is involved. It is also possible for individuals to experience more than one storyline at a time which may interact with each other in their effect on crime. Thus, a temporary break with conventional others may be more likely to lead to crime when a brief, tempting opportunity for crime storyline also comes into play. In this endeavour, storylines are not limited to explaining the reasons why SOLT occurs, they can also be applied to thinking about desistance from continuing to commit SOLT.

2.5.2 Narrative identity and narrative roles as a construct

Within the narrative approach, the concepts of identity and narrative are intertwined. As Maruna and Copes (2005) state *'theorists across numerous disciplines have started to agree that one's identity takes the form of personal narrative'* (p.33). Social psychology, on the other hand, would frame this assumption differently to consider the way in which one holds multiple identities and can navigate our ways through and around them depending on context, audience and indeed narrative (Grossberg, 1996; Hammack, 2008; Hunt & Benford, 1994). This lack of clarity can be viewed as consistent with the array of definitions for the concept of narrative identity or roles (Ward, 2012). The variety of terms include: 'self-narratives', 'narrative identity', 'life narratives', 'narrative roles', personal myths', 'narrative accounts' or 'personal stories'.

As part of the crime script development, the narrative approach within this thesis seeks to address these tensions in two ways. First, by proceeding as Ward (2012) suggests, distinguishing between narrative products (the concrete accounts or stories constructed by individuals) and the narrative process (i.e. the processes involved in the construction of narratives or stories). Secondly, integrating this knowledge in a holistic approach to theory construction. This approach still allows for narrative to be presented as a shaper of experience, acknowledging the enmeshed relationship between identity and narrative. As mentioned above, distinguishing between an individual's story and the process used to construct their story has the potential to capture the elements of intention to act, as a key determinant of committing SOLT.

The division between the self and the self-concept is an important acknowledgement, as it permits researchers to retain the ideas of self-deception and self-knowledge, e.g. pertaining to cognitive dissonance (Festinger, 1957), agency/locus of control (Maruna & Mann, 2006) and attribution theory (Heider, 1958). Taking the view that the self consists of a person's core commitments, aspirations and ideals (Kristjánsson, 2010), allows for the prospect that people make mistakes about what it is they need, what they stand for as a person and what they really believe. This fits with the supposition that offenders lack accurate insight into their motivations and beliefs in certain situations. Theorists propose that narrative identity (beliefs about the self) is conceptually and causally dependent on cognitive

competencies such as self-reflection and self-awareness (Kristjánsson, 2010; Leary & Buttermore, 2003). Concepts of the self are reliant on cognitive and emotional competencies from which individuals can make incorrect or self-deluding inferences about who they are and what they believe, in relation to what is perceived by others.

2.5.3 Cognitive processes within narratives

Narratives require some form of cognitive processing that gives meaning to criminal actions, which has been the basis for research focused on the importance of criminal thinking styles, biases and distortions (Maruna & Copes, 2005; Youngs & Canter, 2012a). Building on the introduction of the role of cognitive distortions presented earlier in the chapter, this section elaborates further on some of the narrative processes involved. Other techniques of neutralisation in addition to denial of responsibility include: denial of injury; denial of victim; condemnation of those who condemn; and an appeal to other, higher loyalties (Sykes & Matza, 1957). Thus, aspects of 'moral disengagement' are likely to be present for the offender with narratives exhibiting low intimacy with the victim, cognitions that dehumanize the victim and/or minimise the impact of the offence will be present.

Cognitive distortions in narrative roles are responses to individuals breaking the law and facing the challenge of viewing themselves in a negative light (McKendy, 2006; Presser, 2004; Youngs & Canter, 2012a). This creates conflicting thoughts, which requires justifications for the wrongdoing. The

repetition of such justifications in the offender's mind (self-talk), eventually becomes firm beliefs (not just excuses) that give permission for the person to repeat the offence (Petruccelli et al., 2017). Self-statements in the form of these moral disengagement mechanisms may present in the form of rape myth acceptance. Rape myths maintain a complex set of attitudes and cultural beliefs that effectively support or excuse rape and sexual assault (Bohner et al., 1998; Burt, 1980; Gerger, Kley, Bohner, & Siebler, 2007; Payne, Lonsway, & Fitzgerald, 1999), making offenders' deviant actions more acceptable to them (Page & Pina, 2015). Defining aspects of the beliefs relevant to the commission of SOLT can contribute to developing SCP measures that seek to remove the excuses for individuals to offend in this manner.

Within sex offending literature, rape myths can be considered one of the more prevalent external attributions observed in this area. Although there is no consensus on the definition, Gerger et al. (2007) provided the description as follows (p.424):

> "*Rape myths (1) are false or biased beliefs, (2) are widely shared, and (3) serve to explain and justify existing 'cultural arrangements'".*

Gerger and colleagues (2007) went on to incorporate beliefs about other types of sexual aggression, such as sexual assault and harassment, which are more applicable to the rationalisations and justifications individuals may give for committing and continuing to commit SOLT.

A recent study by Petruccelli et al. (2017) suggested that sex offenders make more use of blame attribution, employing mostly external attribution of responsibility, namely the displacement and diffusion of responsibility. Although rape myth acceptance was not explicitly explored in this study, respondents shared the irrational belief that 'the woman is an instigator who enjoys the physical or sexual abuse'. This cognitive distortion was viewed as a product of cultural and social factors, which contributed to moral disengagement (Petruccelli et al., 2017). The inclusion of attribution theory within the theoretical framework for SOLT can identify which rationalisations are potentially the most toxic, e.g. rape myths, from those more neutral or even benign explanations that individuals hold on to in order to maintain their self-esteem (Maruna & Mann, 2006). Thus, NC can combine with other theories to help with filling the gaps in relation to understanding how individual characteristics, such as motivation, influence decision-making in the crime commission process of SOLT.

2.6 The integration of ITSO, RAT, RCP, and NC: The new Model

> *"Crime, in particular, is most likely when background factors create a predisposition for crime, storylines lead to a decision to commit or a heightened readiness to commit a crime, and situational factors provide a good opportunity for crime"* (Agnew, 2006, p. 142).

As outlined in previous sections, there is an abundance of theories that can be applied to explaining the relevant factors relating to the occurrence of

SOLT, however, none have provided a comprehensive explanation. ITSO, as a Level I theory, comes the closest to meeting this objective, however, there are two issues that prevent this theory from fulfilling the objective. First, the focus is on child abuse and individuals that commit rape. Second, the absence of factors outside an individual are neglected. Individual factors that might have a role to play in various situations, would benefit from insights proposed by RAT, RCP and SCP. Furthermore, the added value of the narrative criminological approach can be realised by using narrative to integrate and provide links between these models and their ability to explain SOLT.

In recent years, there have been a few level I theories developed and some being revised, yet they do not seem to have had a significant impact on research or practice (Ward, 2014). This absence of integrated theory building to guide empirical and theoretical research in relation to sexual offending (Ward & Hudson, 1998), was identified as a barrier to addressing all the elements relevant to SOLT. Consequently, the ITSO, RAT, RCP and NC models are linked below in a bid to develop both an offence progression model for SOLT and a comprehensive theoretical framework.

2.6.1 Theory-knitting

Theory knitting as an approach to theory development encourages both similar and competing theories to be integrated effectively (Kalmar & Sternberg, 1988). The goal is to extract the best part of related theories and unify them into one all-encompassing comprehensive theory. Many of the

existing theories neglect the distal risk factors (RAT does not address offender decision-making or underlying vulnerability for crime events), offenders' morals and beliefs (RCP) and lack detailed descriptions of the processes involved in sexual offending (ITSO). Although NC can provide a rich understanding of SOLT, it does not have the framework to generate a structured account of the crime-commission process, to assist with generating SCP strategies. In isolation, the ITSO, RCP, RAT and narrative criminological theories cannot account for a comprehensive explanation for SOLT. Taking a segregated approach to developing new theory in psychology narrows the focus and can produce a fragmented effect to studying a phenomenon (Ward & Hudson, 1998). Underpinning this thesis is the intention to construct new theoretical elements that will knit the theories together under a framework, to account for the major characteristics of SOLT (Ward & Siegert, 2002).

The theory knitting perspective proposed by Kalmar and Sternberg (1988) was consulted alongside the meta-theoretical framework by Ward and Hudson (1998) with the aim of creating a theoretical framework for understanding SOLT (see Figure 4). The proposed integrated model in this thesis is composed of one level I multifactorial theory, which will describe and explore the association between constructs in relation to SOLT, and a specific level III model at the centre of the offence progression.

Figure 4 presents the first version of the integrated model for SOLT. There is a clear overlap in the factors across all three theories, which have

been coloured green. The ITSO items in blue, explain the risk predictors relevant to SOLT, with RCP, RAT, in orange, accounting for the important proximal or situational risk factors. In Figure 4 cognitive distortions and situational factors are in yellow to signify that they are the key risk factors in the model where the RCP, RAT and ITSO theories integrate to provide a more comprehensive explanation of the offending behaviour. NC provides the framework for examining how individuals talk about themselves and their wrongdoings, as a way of analysing and understanding experience. The proposed integration of these theories is intended to provide an enhanced understanding of SOLT and is the basis of this thesis. The following chapter will provide an overview of the methodology used to apply these theories to SOLT.

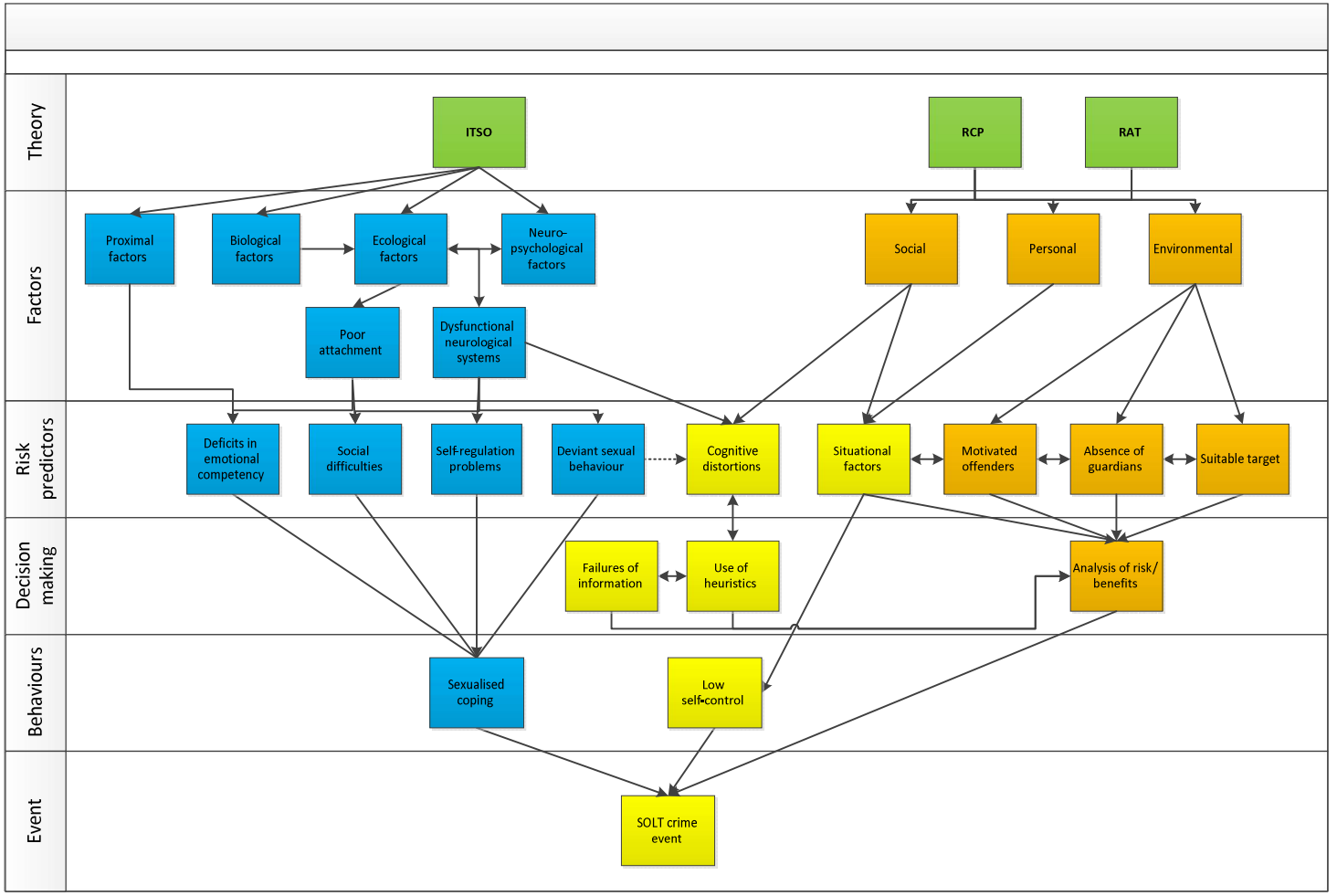


Figure 4 - The proposed Integrated ITSO, RCP, RAT and NC model for SOLT

Chapter 3: Methodology

The following chapter provides the overall research strategy for the three linked studies within this thesis. The chapter begins by discussing how the overarching aim and research question underpin the development of the research design and methodology. Subsequent sections provide an overview of the research methodology for each study, including the methods of data collection, analytic approach and epistemological position, outlining how the individual studies contribute to the offence process model for SOLT. In view of the sensitivities of this subject matter, the psychological well-being of both the participants and the researcher were deliberated alongside epistemological consistency and the path of inquiry for the research aims. This chapter introduces aspects of reflective empirical research relating to this thesis, which are further developed in Chapter 7 and concludes with ethical considerations for each study[11].

3.1 Using mixed methods approaches

The overarching research question pertaining to this investigation was the driving force guiding the approach taken:

> In what manner and why do individuals commit sexual offences on London trains (SOLT)?

[11] Full details of the specific aims, rationale, research questions, and methodological design (including participants, materials, and procedure) undertaken for each of the studies can be found in each analysis chapter. For further discussion please see Chapters 4, 5, and 6.

Mixed methods research was utilised, as a way of obtaining depth and breadth of information and compensating for any weaknesses in a single research design (Bryman, 2015). The goal of employing the mixed methods approach was not to dismiss either the quantitative or qualitative research approaches, but to utilise their strengths and minimise any limitations (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004), allowing for the flexibility required given the challenges intrinsic within sexual offending research. The investigation assumed pragmatism, or 'what works best', for this research approach, which is to combine qualitative and quantitative research methods as determined by the needs of the study (Teddie & Tashakkori, 2009). Gaining an understanding of how and why individuals commit SOLT, defined the exploratory nature of the research. The aim was to develop a model defining the offence process for SOLT, whilst contributing to the knowledge in this relatively under-researched topic.

Within the mixed methods approach, triangulation was considered to provide the most appropriate strategy for obtaining a comprehensive view of SOLT. Triangulation occurred in relation to: combining and comparing multiple data sources; the analytic procedure; and inferences that ensued at the latter stages of the inquiry. Studies 1 and 2 take a qualitative approach, whilst study 3 involves a quantitative approach. Collectively, the studies provide further context and clarification for Sexual Assault, Outraging Public Decency and Exposure offences, forming the organising principle within this thesis.

The combination of methods, in this research, was proposed on the basis that it can improve the accuracy of the data (Denscombe, 2008). The combined studies were used to generate rich data revealing a holistic picture of SOLT, addressing the sub-research questions in Table 2 from the perspectives of proactive police officers, victims (through their reports of crime) and offenders.

Table 2 - Breakdown of studies within the thesis and corresponding research sub-questions

Research sub-questions	**Study**
How do the BTP proactively police SOLT?	1
How are the different types of sexual offences committed on London trains?	1,2, 3
What do we know about personality traits, relationships, background and childhood context and criminal histories of sex offenders on London trains?	2
What narratives do individuals who commit SOLT present?	2
Are there differences between individuals who commit the different types SOLT?	2, 3
On what variables are the groups of individuals that commit the different sexual offences most different?	3
What can BTP data tell us about sex offenders on the London trains?	3

Mixed methods research is often positioned as a solution to the quantitative/ qualitative debate, and as such its stance as a natural complement to traditional quantitative and qualitative approaches is a welcome addition (Gelo, Braakmann, & Benetka, 2008; Johnson &

Onwuegbuzie, 2004). It is by no means a perfect solution, but offers workable solutions to the methodological differences (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). Qualitative methodologies traditionally place greater emphasis on exploratory research questions, narrative data, to develop theory and so on. On the other hand, the quantitative tradition seeks to reject null hypotheses, focusing on numeric data, statistical analysis to test theory and so forth. Positioned in the middle of qualitative and quantitative approaches, mixed methods is often considered on a continuum, which offers a more accurate and productive means of exploring relationships between these communities (Teddie & Tashakkori, 2009). When considered on a continuum, mixed methods design is the area of overlap between the two traditions. By drawing upon the strengths of both approaches, mixed methods research has the potential to provide innovative approaches for addressing contemporary issues in society (Fetters, Curry, & Creswell, 2013).

Quantitative research excels at producing images characterised by precision, much like photography (Haverkamp, Morrow, & Ponterotto, 2005). In this respect, it allows for (a) accurate operationalization and measurement of a specific construct, (b) the capacity to conduct group comparisons, (c) the capacity to examine the strength of association between variables of interest, and (d) the capacity for model specification and the testing of research hypotheses (Castro, Kellison, Boyd, & Kopak, 2010). Yet, it removes this information (image) from its original context within the 'real world' and

decontextualizes the experience under examination (Viruell-Fuentes, 2007). Conversely, qualitative research observes the individual holistically within their natural environment, using a fully contextualized approach (Gelo et al., 2008). Qualitative methods provide the finer details and analysis of in-depth human experience and interaction, including beliefs, behaviours and opinions, which cannot be fully captured with quantitative methods. To date, the commission of SOLT has not been explored using a combination of these approaches.

The concept of triangulation was introduced above and defined in broad terms to encompass the main aspects of combining and comparing data sources, data collection methods and research methods in relation to the process and outcome of research. Central to this concept is the notion that no single method can be expected to provide a comprehensive account of the phenomenon under investigation (Torrance, 2012). With the persuasive, if not evidential, argument that the uncertainty of a proposition is greatly reduced once two or more independent measurement processes have occurred (Webb, Campbell, Schwartz, & Sechrest, 1999), triangulation is best placed to achieve this goal. The different levels of triangulation within this research are shown in Figure 5. Triangulation comprised: data triangulation, of different data sources within a study; methodological triangulation using multiple qualitative and quantitative methods to study a single problem; and theory triangulation, interpreting a single set of data using multiple perspectives (Denzin, 1978). The omission of investigator triangulation was due to the limited resources

and nature of PhD research. The incorporation of integration principles underpinned triangulation to assist the researcher to harness the strengths of the mixed methods approach (Fetters et al., 2013).

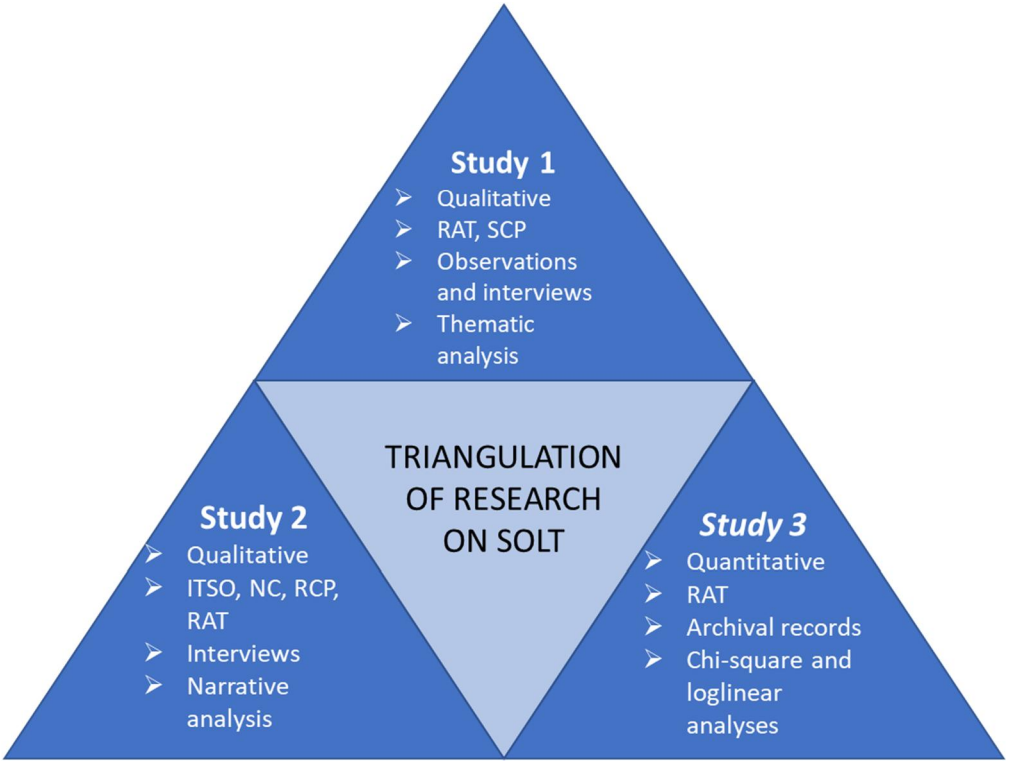


Figure 5- Triangulation approach to the research design

In this thesis, an exploratory sequential design was used (see Figure 6) acknowledging that the conclusions based on the results of the first phase of the research influenced the design components for the next phase (Teddie & Tashakkori, 2009). Using focus groups and observations in study 1, enabled an initial exploration of how sexual offences were committed on London trains. The emphasis was on discovery and description of this phenomenon. This initial understanding was built upon through subsequent studies, from which further conclusions based on more evidence could be made about the

offence commission process (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003). Study 2 again utilised qualitative approaches as a means of developing the model by incorporating findings from offender interviews. In study 3, SOLT was examined in a more removed way by looking at possible associations in offence data and to identify key variables for Sexual Assault, Outraging Public Decency and Exposure.

As noted above, collection and analysis of the qualitative and quantitative data were primarily sequential, in three distinct phases. Thematic analysis of interview and observation data from police officers in study 1 (Braun & Clarke, 2006), provided the preliminary themes (in phase 2) to focus inquiry in the final phase. In phase 3 of the research project, however, the quantitative and qualitative methods were implemented concurrently, as data collection, analysis and interpretation were undertaken at (approximately) the same time. The research timeline was planned from the outset to account for the time the different studies required, in terms of obtaining ethical approval and data collection timeframes. The design also considered the resources available, both in terms of the researcher's skills and expertise and the required resources. Qualitative data within this thesis was analysed using the computer program NVivo version 11 (QSR International, 2006), to assist with the analysis and synthesis of data. Quantitative data were analysed using the

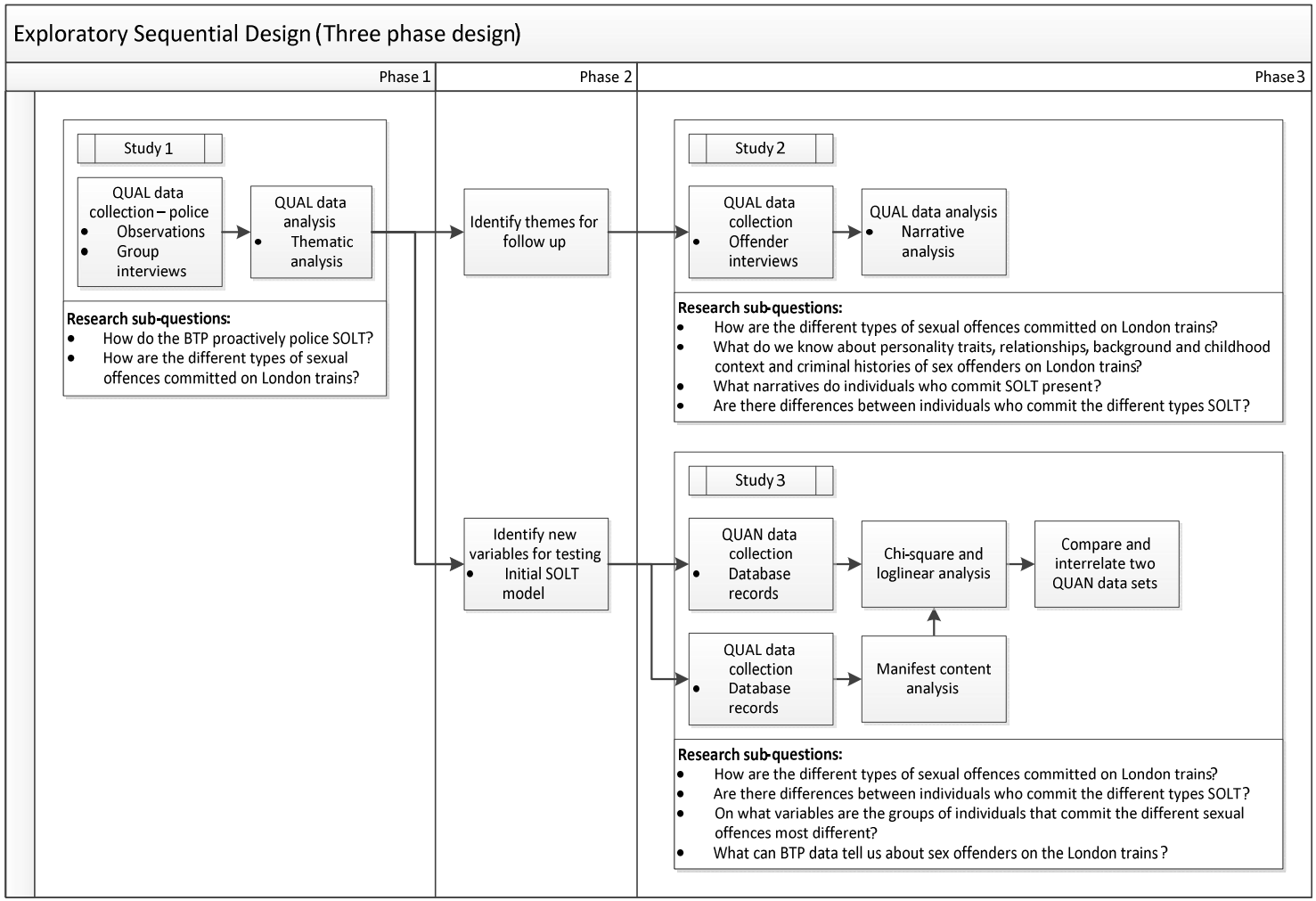


Figure 6 - Overview of research design for this PhD research project

statistical software package: Statistical Package for the Social Sciences SPSS (version 24).

A pragmatic worldview supported the informed decision as to whether there would be equal or unequal weighting of the qualitative and quantitative data in a study. The decision was made to give qualitative methods greater priority, as weighting in each study was influenced by the research question and was based on the strength of the data collection method best suited to address the study's goals (Morgan, 1998). The mixed methods in this research combined more than one qualitative research method across the design phases. The forthcoming sections on Study 1 and Study 2 outline the qualitative strategies adopted in more depth, indicating the application of pluralistic qualitative methodologies for a comprehensive understanding of how SOLT is committed.

It was intended that integration between the qualitative and quantitative studies would take place in phase 3. The mixing of data sets was evident in the connecting of data sequentially from study 1 and 2 to study 3 (qualitative to quantitative). The data were also merged and integrated during study 3, by coding data via content analysis so it could be used subsequently included in the quantitative analysis. Having outlined the practical considerations which determined the suitability of the exploratory sequential design, the following sections detail the methods employed in each study.

3.2 Study 1 – Police perspectives

Empirical research places importance on direct experience or observation, which in a qualitative research paradigm translates as providing an authentic account of how people think about the world and act within it (Wood, 2012). Ethnography was used in this first study to examine how individuals commit SOLT, as observed by proactive police officers. It also provided insight into the culture within this group of police officers tasked with addressing SOLT. Siding with the critical realist paradigm subscribes to a belief in an independent reality – that there is a kind of immutable, observable, real phenomenon - whilst not committing one to an absolute knowledge of that reality (Scott, 2005). The view that knowledge claims should submit to wide critical examination in order to achieve the best understanding (Cohen & Crabtree, 2006), is preferable to the position that absolute knowledge of the way that that reality works is achievable (Bhaskar, 1998).

Consistent with the assumption that an ontological theory presupposes an epistemological theory, critical realism as a meta-theory influenced the way data were generated and analysed in study 1 (Scott, 2005). On the basis of this assumption, the selection of interviews and observations as the mode of data collection, reflected that the objective reality of the participants could be accessed by this means (Morse, 2000). Human thought and action are influenced by social, cultural, organizational, political or geographic contexts,

which can be seen, or rendered visible, in representations such as oral texts (including personal narratives or stories) and researcher field notes, (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). This reflection requires the caveat that any method of capturing social interaction would be a culturally biased, human, interpretative and selective process (Hamo, 2004). Despite this limitation, employing a quantitative approach to this study would have shortcomings in eliciting the richness of data required to address the proposed research questions outlined at the beginning of the chapter.

The qualitative research and the methods used to elicit data were designed to minimise data reduction (Willig, 2013) and were appropriate for exploring SOLT from proactive officers' perspective and how their experiences impact their policing duties. The decision was made to take an inductive approach to generate a greater depth and richness of data providing insight into previously unstudied (or understudied) crime events, such as the commission of SOLT. Group interviews create opportunities for participants to build on others' insights, challenge them, or refine them, potentially collaboratively (Wood, 2012). This depth of understanding would not be produced through the sole use of individual interviews and would have been subjected to further limitations with the use of surveys. This approach can explore new theoretical concepts, identifying previously unknown territory that may not be found through deductive hypothesis testing.

Ethnography lends itself to the realist aim of gaining a better understanding of what is really going on in the world (Bhaskar, 1975), at least through the lens of the interpreter. Initial enquiries with various staff within BTP revealed that the proactive police officers, who work solely with the sexual offence cases, have nuanced operational knowledge about those they have observed committing these offences. Their knowledge is supplemented by the victim and perpetrator interviews they conduct as part of the investigation process. The potential richness of what was, hitherto, anecdotal evidence from police officers provided a useful starting point for investigating how sexual offences are committed on London trains. As Rowe (2017) expressed, *"Ethnographic work with police, at its best, describes a world recognisable to those officers doing the job. But it does more than describe. It illuminates and questions practices and assumptions"* (p.4). Ethnography is not an entirely new concept within covert policing activities (Mac Giollabhuí, Goold, & Loftus, 2016), but it is one that has not been applied to exploring the way in which sexual offences are carried out on London trains.

An idiographic approach was deemed appropriate given the interconnectedness of events that are unique and complex. Exploratory research of this nature can be best suited to the idiographic approach which aims to describe and explain particular phenomena (Windelband & Cushman, 1901). Given quantitative research is more typically associated with the generalisable characteristics of nomothetic research approaches, it was not

deemed appropriate for the aim of this study. Following on from the idiographic approach focussing on understanding the individual, an emic[12] approach was favoured with the intention of letting the police officers' perspectives emerge. Whilst the emic approach is at the heart of ethnographic research, an etic[13] approach was also adopted by nature of the researcher's abstractions, interpretations and scientific explanations of reality. It was inconceivable that a purely emic perspective could be achieved in study 1, without the inescapable sensitivity that the researcher contributes to a study through past experiences, ideas and viewpoints. Conversely, an entirely etic approach to this study risked "*the possibility of overlooking the hidden nuances, meanings and concepts within a culture that can only be gleaned through interviews and observations.*" (Olive, 2014, p. 4)

Qualitative pluralism is the employment of more than one qualitative approach to accessing meanings within the same piece of research (Frost & Nolas, 2011). Multiple perspectives incorporated in theoretical and methodological empirical research can constructively study the complexities of human experience. Interviews on their own can be one dimensional and the addition of observation as a method allows for a different perspective when

[12] The emic approach (also referred to as the insider perspective, inductive approach or bottom-up position) originates from the point of perspectives and words of participants. It advocates constructs such as descriptions, analyses and accounts that are expressed in terms of categories regarded as meaningful by particular members of a culture (Lett, 1990).

[13] Etic approach (sometimes referred to as the outsider perspective, deductive approach, or top-down stance) starts from the point of theory, perspective and hypotheses. It allows researchers to compare contexts and populations and express these aspects in terms of categories, as regarded as appropriate by scholars (Lett, 1990).

looking at a complex issue such as SOLT (Chamberlain, Cain, Sheridan, & Dupuis, 2011; Frost & Nolas, 2011). Interviews are the most widely used method of qualitative data curating (Braun & Clarke, 2006), and are aligned with objectivism within ethnographic approaches (O'Reilly & Kiyimba, 2015). The above discussions elucidated the advantages of using multiple methods and triangulation, which add rigour, breadth and depth to enhance the understanding of the phenomenon under study and allow for the further testing of ideas (Cresswell & Plano Clark, 2007). Therefore, study 1 employed group interviews and observations as data collection methods, with the main justification for using these methods being the added potential of providing depth of knowledge of current police work regarding SOLT (Cockcroft, 2013). Congruence with the ontological, epistemological and methodological levels of research design was integral to the decision-making process at all stages of the research.

Different approaches in qualitative research elicit substantial overlay in terms of procedures and techniques; these approaches share key philosophical ideas, such as being person-centred and adopting an open-ended starting point (Holloway & Todres, 2003). Conceptualising paradigms in terms of epistemological stances (e.g., realism and constructivism) emphasises that distinct belief systems will influence how research questions are asked and answered. One's worldview encompasses assumptions about the nature of knowledge and knowing, including the appropriate ways of producing such

knowledge (Lincoln & Guba, 2005). Despite these assumptions on which research is conducted, they offer little guidance as to what to study and how to do so (Morgan, 2007). Therefore, the reflexive approach embraced in this thesis took a measured view of the complex relationship between processes of knowledge production and the variety of contexts in which these processes occur, in addition to the involvement of the knowledge producer (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009).

A critical realist approach strongly emphasises reality as distinct from our conceptions of it (Bhaskar, 1975), as such, reality exists independently of our knowledge of it (Danermark, Ekstrom, Jakobsen, & Karlsson, 2002). Whilst a critical realist position was maintained as the lens for study 1, this is not to say other philosophical foundations should be discounted, e.g. constructivism. The stance that there is no objective and irrefutable reality can be considered problematic, as the claim that there are multiple, contradictory realities would be better expressed as multiple perceptions, opinions or beliefs (Phillips & Burbules, 2000). Socially constructed beliefs can be false beliefs, and it is on the basis of this idea that the pure constructivist perspective appears to be no more advantageous. Moderate constructivists maintain that rather than the belief that an individual's perception of reality is socially constructed in relation to the environment within which they interact (Gergen, 1985), the existence of some fundamental social reality is recognised. This perceived tension between worldviews is not insurmountable and is

deliberated throughout the thesis. The main conviction is that although reality is socially defined and produced, it does not make SOLT any less real, and constructions are observable phenomena (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009).

Observation as a research method was chosen as a good starting point with regards to this research project, to develop understanding about police culture in the context of policing SOLT. Police culture is a valuable concept in understanding many aspects of policing from day-to-day functioning, keeping the police accountable, and the success of implementing new measures (Paoline, 2003). It was anticipated that this would be of benefit in the latter stages of the research when recommendations and implications for practice are proffered. Direct observations facilitated understanding of how an action is carried out and revealed the cultural norms that guide behaviours. Participant observation was used to help answer the descriptive nature of the research questions, which aimed to describe how sexual offences are carried out on London trains, as part of a theory building process. The immersion within, and investigation of the social world in which SOLT occurs, provided the basis for interpretation of data within this study and the wider research project.

Group interviews were selected as the principal method for the data collection in study 1, enabling a group discussion focused on the policing of SOLT. Under the premise that group interviews create an environment that fosters a range of opinions, a more comprehensive and enlightening

understanding of proactive policing of SOLT would be obtained (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2008). It was anticipated that this method would (a) elicit a wide range of feelings, opinions and ideas; (b) understand differences in perspectives; (c) uncover and provide insight into specific factors that influence opinions; and (d) seek ideas that emerge from the group (Krueger & Casey, 2000). The main limitation of this approach was the potential for collusion, collaborative recall or mirroring hierarchies and/or potential negative group dynamics, as officers worked together in the same unit. Individual interviews were also offered as an alternative option to increase participation and reduce potential barriers to engagement.

Using observation methods in conjunction with interviews, mitigated against the potential "drive-by" nature of generating data from a single contact, with the belief that it will capture all that is needed for the research (Chamberlain et al., 2011). Using pluralistic qualitative methods enabled the generation of data from the police officers in diverse ways, in various places and at different times to understand their perspectives and practices in policing the complex issue SOLT. Employing pluralistic methods also helped to moderate against the potential biases inherent in observations. For example, much of the data collected by the researcher tends to be based on the researcher's individual interest in a setting or behaviour, rather than being representative of what actually happens in situations. This was mitigated against by the researcher holding a reflexive position on how gender, sexuality,

ethnicity, class, and theoretical approach affected observation, analysis, and interpretation, individually and as intersections.

Alternative methodological approaches were contemplated for the research design of study 1; the rationale for discounting these alternatives is provided below. Phenomenology has its focus on identifying the unique and concrete contexts in which experiential phenomena occurs. It requires respondents to narrate actual experiences that they have lived through. The formulation of the research question for this study was not explicitly designed to elicit the police officers' lived experiences. The research question guiding inquiry was more aligned with drawing out their views, beliefs or conclusions regarding how sexual offences are committed on London trains. The research question steers the police officers in the direction of narrating their observations whilst on proactive duties, rather than generating a concrete description of their 'lived experiences'. Whilst the use of semi-structured interviews could be methodologically congruent with phenomenological approaches, observation would be an inconsistent data collection method because the recorded text would not have been directly generated by the participants (Holloway & Todres, 2003). The use of group semi-structured interviews in this study, limits the ability to extract coherent narratives of each individual and would not be the best fit with a phenomenological approach.

Initially, Grounded Theory was the methodological approach selected for study 1 at the early proposal development stage, as it seemed to offer the

possibility of explaining how concepts and the activities fit together to explain the commission of SOLT. The pursuit of methods that would allow the emergence of theory from data were appealing, given the desire for conceptualisation of SOLT as a relatively understudied phenomenon. It became apparent, however, at the early stages of research design, that data collection from the police officers and not the individuals committing SOLT would fail to achieve the formulation of a comprehensive theory centred on the psychological processes of how SOLT was committed. Furthermore, the designs for the subsequent studies, whilst consistent with a triangulated approach, were informed by existing sex offender theories which was incongruent with Grounded Theory principles. Although there are some similarities in the analytical process employed with Grounded Theory and other approaches, this study did not have the required level of interaction between data collection and analysis to develop an emerging theory that was consistent with Grounded Theory methodology.

Faced with a selection of methodological approaches for study 1, ethnography was preferred in this exploratory study for three main reasons. First, the study sought to describe, interpret and understand the characteristics of how sexual offences are committed by individuals on London trains from police officer perspectives. Secondly, fieldwork enabled the researcher to obtain first-hand experience of proactively policing SOLT by observing and interviewing police officers. As key informants, the proactive police officers

were experts in this setting and highlighted the values and knowledge they shared in policing SOLT. Ethnography revealed the naturally occurring language of participants in the field, generating insight into the police officers' position in society and the varied meanings they give to their location, relationships with others and their behaviour (Holloway & Todres, 2003).

3.2.1 Data analysis

Thematic analysis (TA) offers the flexibility required for the methods used within study 1, as it is compatible with a range of epistemological positions and is largely driven by the theoretical interest of the researcher (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The focal point in this study was to capture proactive police officers' conceptualizations or ways of thinking about SOLT and identifying potential sex offenders on London Underground. Observations were used to ensure the researcher understood the context in which proactive officers recounted their experience and perceptions. TA can be a useful method for examining the perspectives of different research participants; identifying similarities, comparing differences and generating unexpected insights (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Despite these advantages, TA is often poorly defined and there is a lack of substantial literature on TA as a method for qualitative analysis - compared to that of grounded theory, ethnography, and phenomenology (Nowell, Norris, White, & Moules, 2017). The core skills required for conducting TA underpins the process in other qualitative methods, however, a simple thematic analysis does not facilitate claims about

language use (Braun & Clarke, 2006); this aim would require a different methodological approach.

Conversation analysis (CA) and discourse analysis (DA) as methodological approaches were considered but were not suitable because discursive analysis reveals more about how the participant manages their stake in the interview as an interviewee, than about discursive strategies used in everyday life. It also required analysis of the interviewer's comments, focusing on language use to engage with the police officers' experiences of policing SOLT. Narrative analysis (NA) and interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) were also considered and rejected, however, because the focus of study 1 was not to hone in on the lived experience of the proactive police officers (Smith, Flowers, & Larkin, 2009). On balance, TA was chosen as the best fit for the purpose this study, as it yielded the greatest potential to address the aims of the research questions.

Each interview was fully transcribed into textual data within one week of being held. 'Verbatim' accounts of all verbal and non-verbal speech hesitations, such as 'um' and 'er' were transcribed in Word using a "simple orthographic" form of transcription (Poplack, 1989). Other repetitive interjections that did not contribute to meaning were omitted. Using a system of transcription, e.g. the Jefferson system (Jefferson, 1983), was judged not to be necessary because thematic analysis does not require the same level of detail in the transcript as other methods such as conversation analysis

(Atkinson & Heritage, 1984). An example of a redacted transcript and field note observation from study 1 is submitted in the appendices for this thesis. It is acknowledged that the researcher arrived at the start of the analytic process with some prior knowledge of the interview data, as it was collected through interactive means in parallel with the observations. It was, therefore, conceivable that even at the data collection stage, there had been some initial analytic thoughts. These thoughts and interpretations, which were drawn on from the observation field notes, signalled the beginning of data analysis and initial analysis thoughts, interpretations and questions were documented during the process (Tuckett, 2005).

Braun and Clarke's (2006) 6-phase guide to TA was routinely followed (see Appendix B), so that clarity of process and practice was provided in the form of how the data were analysed. Transcripts and fieldnotes were printed, and initial coding was conducted manually and systematically across the whole data set. On completion of NVIVO training, all data were transferred to NVIVO, and the coding process repeated, to enable subsequent analysis and refining of themes. The principles of TA were used to analyse the interview transcriptions and field notes to identify themes that captured something important about the data in relation to the research question. The interviews were coded and analysed first, as it was felt that the data collected by this method would answer the research question. It later became apparent that analysis of the observations would add value to understanding the interview

themes. Accordingly, after the observation analysis had been conducted, these themes were reflected on once more and further refined. Prevalence of each theme was thought through in terms of how many times it appeared within the entire dataset, as well as the number of different individuals who articulated the theme. A table was created with the name of each code and a description to assist with sorting the codes into themes, along with extract examples (see Appendix C). This process facilitated a progressive identification and integration of categories of meaning of the collected data, which also established links within the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The researcher then reflected on the relationships between the categories to form inter-linked clusters of concepts.

The analytic process followed a 'bottom up' inductive approach to the data, rather than using a theoretically informed coding frame (Boyatzis, 1998). Within the critical realist approach, beliefs and values will influence the way observations are perceived and what is going on in the world in relation to proactive officers policing SOLT (Madill, Jordan, & Shirley, 2000). This approach did not assume that the data constitutes a mirror image of reality, but conceded that there could be multiple interpretations to further our understanding of the underlying structures which generate the phenomena being studied (Willig, 2013). In the final stage of analysis, themes were refined and defined by extracting and identifying the essence of each theme,

evidenced within the interview and observation data, so that it could be accompanied with a narrative in the format of crime scripting.

3.2.2 Structuring crime scripts

Crime scripts are employed to describe, explain and/or understand the ways in which an offence progresses, making explicit the decision-making points that the would-be offender passes through in the commission of the crime (Tompson & Chainey, 2011). This analytic process systemises what can be gathered about the modus operandi for the specified crime. The construction of a crime script should include information gathered on how the offender went about the crime commission and their rationale behind the decisions made in the process. This includes how they accessed the crime location, the skills they needed, the effort involved, information about the crime opportunity presented, resources required and facilitators to the crime commission process (equipment, transport, communication). However, this type of information is rarely available in crime reports made by law enforcement agencies (Tompson & Chainey, 2011). The construction of a script can best be derived from multiple sources of information including interviews with offenders (obtaining their perspective is key), detailed investigative records, or alternatively more informal accounts from those more familiar with the details of the criminal event.

The notable absence in the standardisation of sources of data and the methods used for constructing scripts (Brayley et al., 2011; Hutchings & Holt,

2015), is an issue for the aspiring researcher. Tompson and Chainey (2011) proposed a structured method comprising four steps: identifying the units that form a script, describing the actors, the tools and activities that take place in each unit, interpreting and visualising the results and translating these results into identifiable crime preventive actions. The units were further categorised as involving preparation, pre-activity, activity and post-activity. The 'preparation' unit constitutes the actor becoming aware of opportunities to offend, whereas the 'pre-activity' unit encompasses the transactional steps undertaken prior to the offending activity. From a conceptual viewpoint, script analysis in this form provides a tool to better comprehend probable scenarios leading to the commission of crime. The analytic synthesis presented in Chapter 4 goes beyond 'surface' level analysis, as it is grounded in the data provided (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Questions surrounding the mechanisms for testing the four-step process suggested by Tompson and Chainey (2011), are raised in relation to accuracy of the resulting script. Validating the accuracy of a script designed to identify potential crime prevention measures is an important part of the crime scripting process (Borrion, 2013). Using empirical data to inform a crime script is insufficient to guarantee creation of a model that is deemed 'good enough'. Further validation with the use of a quality assurance checklist, such as the one as devised by Borrion (2013), encourages application of fundamental principles of scientific practice, e.g. describing methods used,

clarifying interpretation, applying consistency to diagrammatic presentations (see Appendix D). To date, there have been few empirical applications of this checklist to evaluate the quality of a crime scripts. The checklist has been used to quality assure the crime script for railway metal theft; highlighting that visual representation of the model was parsimonious and the content was unambiguous (Ashby, 2016).

Exactly how to visually represent crime scripts is an important output of script analysis, yet there are no commonly accepted rules on devising scripts, resulting in scripts that vary in form and content (Brayley et al., 2011). Adherence to the checklist requires consistency of the visual representation throughout the crime script, although this is still flexible and largely open to interpretation. Previous scripts have been presented in a variety of ways, including narrative description (Hutchings & Holt, 2015), tables (Cornish, 1994b) and flow charts (Brayley et al., 2011; Tompson & Chainey, 2011). Flow charts are more frequently seen within the literature; when presented graphically in this way, scripts are drawn as a series of boxes linked by arrows, indicating direction of flow. As will be discussed in Chapter 4, the crime scripts presented as flow charts will seek to satisfy the quality-assurance tests set out by (Borrion, 2013).

3.3 Study 2 – Offender perspectives

Study 2 was designed as a collective case study, informed by a narrative approach (Stake, 1995)[14]. This study explored how and why sexual offences are committed on London trains from the offenders' perspectives, to address this gap in knowledge and with the intent of identifying and preventing the commission of SOLT. A prevailing assumption of qualitative research articulated by Marshall and Rossman (2014) is that *"the participant's perspective on the phenomenon of interest should unfold as the participant views it (the emic perspective), not as the researcher views it (the etic perspective)"* (p.144). Study 2 notably redresses the equilibrium and the apparent limitations of the previous study which lacks the offenders' voice in creating a crime script for SOLT.

A narrative approach was adopted to provide a systematic way of exploring the narratives of offenders, which underpin their criminal actions. It was not ethical to pursue an ethnographic approach by perhaps seeking to engage with individuals arrested by the proactive teams during observations. This would potentially interfere with the investigation process and more importantly, there would be ethical issues around gaining voluntary consent to participate in the research. For these reasons, interviews were conducted at a more appropriate time to gain offenders' perspectives.

[14] Stake refers to the study of more than one case as collective case studies, each of which is an instrumental study linked by coordination between individual studies (Stake, 1995)

As evaluated earlier in the chapter, critical realism (CR) provides an alternative approach to positivism and constructivism but incorporates aspects of both methodological strains in its explanation of ontology and epistemology. A key tenet of CR is that ontology is not reducible to epistemology, proposing that human knowledge captures only a small fragment of a deeper and vaster reality (Fletcher, 2017). To achieve a depth of understanding from participants, semi-structured interviews provide the balance between the flexibility needed to address the sensitive subject matter and structure so that a higher quality of data is obtained (Gillham, 2005). A critical realist epistemological approach to data collection was pursued with the assumption that the data from the interviews could be used to generate themes that would emerge during the research process and which would capture the processes, experiences, structures or even cognitions involved in SOLT.

Within study 2, a social constructionist lens is also adopted as a way of exploring the ways in which individuals construct their reality from the meanings that they bring to their life experiences and the identities that they use to construct themselves and others (Stephens & Breheny, 2013). Although, it should be noted that these are all post hoc, so are potentially filtered and rationalised during the interview. This critical realist position is held with the understanding that social constructions are present, but that a reality exists independent of what the constructions look like (Alvesson &

Sköldberg, 2009). It is recognised that participant meanings will provide multiple perspectives and diverse views on the topic, which is why interviews and the subsequent findings sought to reflect multiple perspectives of the participants in the study. In the pursuit of a possible causal explanation, critical realism studies the various mechanisms which contribute to the complexities of causal forces that make things, such as SOLT, happen in the world (Fletcher, 2017).

Data from these semi-structured interviews can generate "thick description" of how SOLT occur, contribute to conceptual development and provide a basis for testing of concepts (Gaskell, 2000). This method was selected to empower individuals to share their life story; thinking about the processes they went through before and after they committed the sexual offence, why they responded in a particular way and the context around their decision-making, and their deeper thoughts and behaviours that governed their responses. A recognised limitation of gaining narrative accounts retrospectively is that the quality of data largely depends on the degree to which individuals can remember events accurately, or the extent to which they are willing to remember adverse events in their lives (Elliott, 2005). Despite the highlighted confines of retrospective life stories, the knowledge and understanding from the narrative individuals present in interview were used as a basis for the further development of the theoretical framework.

Grounded Theory (GT), as a research design, could have proffered a similar means of describing the process of SOLT with the intent of generating a theoretical explanation (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). The focus of the research question is compatible with a GT approach in that a process is the focus of inquiry. Interviews lend themselves to this method of enquiry, but with a greater focus on gathering enough data to reach saturation, GT was judged to not be appropriate for this study. Given the nature of sexual offending, it was concluded that it would be unlikely that the researcher would obtain the 20-60 interviews required to fully develop a model using GT principle theories (Creswell, 2012). Another argument to not pursue a GT approach, was the need for the researcher to set aside theoretical ideas in the analytical process (Charmaz, 2006). This would have proved challenging, as the researcher had already engaged in theoretical discussion during the previous phases of the study.

Final consideration was given to adopting a phenomenological approach to Study 2, as a way of describing the common meaning for the individuals' lived experience of committing SOLT. This approach provides the opportunity of reducing these experiences to a description of the universal essence, which identifies the phenomenon as an object of human experience (van Manen, 1990). The phenomenological focus on "what" individuals experienced and "how" they experienced SOLT, was a departure from the process driven research question that sought to understand some of the more

cognitive elements and structures underpinning behaviour. Phenomenological inquiry is an interpretative process which focuses on the individuals' sense making, which the researcher viewed to be too direct a proposition given the sensitive nature of the subject matter. Exploring individuals' constructions of their lives through narrative provides a creative means of studying and describing realities from their viewpoint, which are arranged and bound in time (Esin, 2011).

3.3.1 Data analysis

A narrative analytical approach was thus chosen for this applied research, as it was an appropriate 'real-world measure' for investigating the commission of sex offences as 'real-life problems' (Maxwell, 2009). The narrative approach provided access to each offender's identity and personality through understanding their personal stories and how this relates to the characteristic roles and actions offenders assign themselves during the commission of their offences (Canter, 1994). The critical realist position does not consider narratives to be simply 'fabrications', neither does it completely take the narratives at face value as accurate representations of reality. The belief is held that stories are generally constructed around a core set of facts or life events, however, it is the individual's freedom to select, add to, emphasise and interpret these 'remembered facts' (Liblich, Tuval-Mashiach, & Zilber, 1998). This is consistent with the postmodern ontology, which emphasises

that there are multiple subjectivities involved in the construction of narratives, including unconscious ones (Esin, 2011).

Narrative inquiry provided different ways in which the narratives could be read, interpreted and analysed with opportunities to a) take a holistic or categorical approach and b) focus on content or form. These dimensions were not mutually exclusive; a categorical approach was adopted when looking at the behaviours involved in committing sexual offences on London railways, whereas a holistic approach was preferred when exploring how individuals had arrived at the current situation and made sense of their crime – their 'inner narrative' (Canter, 1994). The approach to the narrative material within study 2 involved listening to the three voices: that of the narrator, as represented by the recording or the text; the theoretical framework, which identifies the models and tools to aid interpretation; and a reflexive awareness of the process of reading and interpretation when drawing conclusions from the material (Liblich et al., 1998). Through this interactive process, the researcher became sensitive to the narrative and meanings, which enabled hypotheses and theories to be generated during analysis. This reiterative process of reading and analysing, facilitated a progressive identification and integration of categories of meaning from the finding generated, which also establishes links within the data (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

There is a plethora of variations in discourse analysis (DA) available, which could have been drawn on if the aim of the research was to highlight

the ways in which knowledge is socially constructed. It challenges the realist assumption that there is a 'real world' in existence, highlighting the constructedness of these assumptions (Holt, 2011). The critical realist position held in this research takes the view that language is a means by which 'the truth' can be accessed, whereas a constructionist approach would view language as constitutive of truth. Discourse is understood to provide a comprehensible and reliable 'truth', with language being at the forefront of this approach. Reverting to the research question, the focus is on how the structure, content and context of narratives about how the participants came to commit SOLT. Within CR, there is a division between structure and agency which will be studied separately. The active construction of social reality by individuals, however, is downplayed in favour of focusing on its changing nature and the emergent and varied processes that are part of producing it (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009).

IPA offered another analytical approach to understand the subjective experience of participants (Smith, Flowers & Larkin, 2009), however, it was not the researcher's intention within this study to solely focus on participants' attempts to make sense of their experiences, which would be the analytic focus of IPA. A narrative approach to analysis was preferred as it enabled the earlier integration and a greater level of engagement with the material than IPA. Whilst IPA provides the opportunity for the researcher's experience and role to be more active in generating, rich descriptions of participants' lived

experiences of situations and events, this was not chosen for practical and theoretical reasons. More specifically, narrative criminology concerning how offenders construct the world and/or themselves (Presser, 2009), had the potential to explain some of the dynamic factors and their relevance during a specific crime event (Youngs & Canter, 2012b). Consequently, there were parallels in the construction of an identity through a narrative life story and the theory building process within this empirical research.

3.4 Study 3 – Offence data

Crime records provide a wealth of information and can reveal a great deal about crime distributions and patterns over a longer period. The qualitative findings from study 1 and 2 were used to identify themes for variables, to explore the relationship between themes for taxonomy development (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007). Study 3 used a quantitative approach to examine the offence data in a more detached manner, to identify associations and contribute to theoretical interpretation. A nomothetic methodology was utilised with the intention of establishing, collecting and assimilating what is known/believed about SOLT from victims' reports and law enforcement recording. There were, however, some shortcomings within this quantitative study in that there may be ambiguity in the information encoded in variables, limiting the degree to which statistical analysis will allow meaningful theoretical interpretation (Toomela, 2008).

Archival data were extracted from BTP records[15] to analyse offence, perpetrator and victim details to identify patterns of offences, locations and the demographic characteristics. Offence reports from victims and witnesses were also available, which provided richer information about the sexual offences recorded. Secondary datasets such as this provide an unobtrusive way of examining sensitive, sexual offences that have already occurred and been reported. They can be invaluable in developing coding schemes for further exploration. Another advantage of using naturalistic/original archival records was that the data analysed was not affected by the participant effect, researcher bias nor is the data experimentally manipulated (Schultz, Hoffman, & Reiter-Palmon, 2001). It largely provides a reflection of the real-world events that have occurred outside the research laboratory (Roseneld & Penrod, 2011), which for ethical reasons could not be manipulated in a controlled environment. Although, it should be noted that the lens through which the knowledge is generated, is subject to researcher bias during analysis, by nature of the decision-making in relation to the variables selected for statistical analysis.

The offence details collected and recorded on BTP databases were deemed inherently valuable, not by the researcher, but by law enforcement officers seeking to ensure that justice can be administered. Investigative purposes are often the focus of recording offence details, which influence what

[15] The section below titled 'data security and management' has further details about how data protection was adhered to and the measures taken to maintain data security.

offence is recorded (e.g., likelihood of prosecution), which might not always seem intuitive from the actions observed during an incident or investigated subsequently. The importance of the data used within study 3 far outweighs the disadvantages because of its significant contributory factor to understanding SOLT. However, an acknowledged problem with the quality of crime records is the exact location or positioning of incidents, pertaining to moving events occurring on public transport, which may provide less consistent results (Newton, 2004). The way call handlers or officers record offences will vary, and as a result this will affect data quality. Crime records often include erroneously recorded events, with differing coordinates, which are either filed incorrectly or wrongly transformed. This identified limitation of the dataset meant that any analysis concerning the locations of sexual offences committed on London trains was made tentatively, as accuracy could not be assured with regards to non-static offences occurring on trains and often not reported until after alighting from the train. The researcher attempted to improve data quality by conducting data cleansing prior to analysis.

The main drawback with the use of archival data, was the lack of control in gaining the exact data required to answer research questions, given the data were not collected for research purposes. Consequently, data were manipulated and transformed into data that would facilitate data analysis, for example, variables such as age were recoded to categorical data to enable statistical tests of independence to be conducted. The researcher also collated

the information held on different systems, to construct one dataset relating to the offences, victims and offenders involved in SOLT.

3.4.1 Data analysis

The data for Study 3 was predominantly quantitative data, with some additional qualitative data. The rationale for employing a mixed method design was discussed above and the merging of the two datasets during the interpretation phase was desirable. Manifest content analysis was chosen for the analysis of initial reports about offences, as it allows for *"the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication"* (Berelson, 1952, p. 18). Manifest content is a flexible research method which is particularly useful for the "on the surface" and easily observable, such as the appearance of a particular word in a written text (Potter & Levine-Donnerstein, 1999). A quantified coding scheme was developed to enable a systematic reduction of the text to a standard set of statistically 'manipulable' symbols representing presence, the intensity or frequency of some characteristics relevant to SOLT (Shapiro & Markoff, 1997), e.g. using a prop or following a victim.

A deductive approach was applied in the quantifying process using prior formulated definitions, examples and coding rules for the categories generated from analysis of studies 1 and 2 (Mayring, 2000), which provided a preliminary conceptual framework for the characteristics of SOLT. Initially, the content analysis identified certain words or content in the offence reports

capturing relevant characteristics that were either present or absent within each offence report. Quantification of the data in this manner converted narrative data into numeric codes (e.g. 0 = absent, 1 = present), to enable dummy variable analysis (Elliott, 2005). This process of counting findings from the text quantifies the data, so that it can be presented in the form of frequency expressed as a percentage or actual numbers of key categories (Krippendorff, 2013).

The locus of meaning within the manifest content analysis was based on the discrete content characteristics, with the role of theory not being central. Essentially, the task for the researcher was to undertake accurate clerical coding using the binary rules based on the definitions. This process created an objective criterion, with which to code the data and reliability was achieved through the consistency with which the coding standard was applied. Whilst there was the risk of coder fatigue, this was minimised in two ways. The first was by ensuring the researcher took regular breaks when coding and the second was through the re-coding of a 10% dip sample of reports to review that coding was applied consistently.

Descriptive statistics were used to summarise the data, to include the relative frequency of categorical data and frequency distributions of quantitative data. The nature of the data permitted correlational analysis, which did not allow for causal inferences to be made. Correlational analysis was deemed sufficient to answer the research question, which sought to

understand the relationships between characteristics in the commission of SOLT. Chi square analysis was performed to determine whether there were significant associations between categorical variables, resulting in the identification of some significant associations between sexual offenders in different offence type groups on certain characteristics. These variables were then used for subsequent inferential analysis to identify whether they could predict which offences were committed or final outcomes.

Loglinear analysis was considered the most appropriate and widely used multivariate statistical method for analysing two or more categorical variables. Consideration was given to using discriminant analysis, due to some similarities with regression and the two are unlikely to lead to significantly different results. Loglinear analysis was preferred as the assumptions of normality and equal variance/covariance matrices were not met (Press & Wilson, 1978). When conducting all loglinear analysis, the model for reporting was structured on the guidance by Field (2013).[16]

3.5 Methodological challenges

There have been tentative links between methods and paradigms throughout this section, as the prevailing thought with utilising mixed methods research was to ensure that the aims were addressed by the best means possible. Discussions regarding philosophical and methodological

[16] Chapter 18, p.756

difference can enhance shared understanding within and across the quantitative, qualitative and mixed methods community (Morgan, 2007). Whereas, there was an awareness of the epistemology-methods link which is widely debated, an a-paradigmatic stance was largely adopted in relation to these issues (Patton, 2002). This stance promoted the notion that paradigms were not centrally important to good practical enquiry. The researcher conducted interviews and observations with the primary focus of gathering data in a manner that would obtain meaningful answers. This did not require commitment to a particular paradigm or philosophical position, nor was the combination of methods chosen constrained by epistemological and other philosophical stances (Morgan, 2007).

Rather than vacillating between quantitative and qualitative paradigms, a pragmatic approach is taken within this research. As detailed above, an exploratory multistage mixed design is utilised in this research. Although mixed methods research is believed to lend itself to a post-positivist viewpoint (Lincoln & Guba, 2005), the constructivist view can be embraced with regards to the flexibility applied to the studies in this research (Christ, 2007). Christ (2007) provides an example of how constructivist concepts can be helpful at an exploratory level in creating and refining the research questions after each sequential phase of analysis. Conclusions from studies 1 and 2 were used to guide key components, including the research question used in the construction and analysis of study 3. Fundamentally, the research studies

bridge two philosophical schools of thought about a subject; whereby the occurrence of SOLT is both a societal fact, and the interpreted experience inherent to social interactions in which reality is navigated.

Consideration was given to the use of pilot studies within this research project, as a way of assisting the researcher to have a clearly defined focus to the study (Frankland & Bloor, 1999) and providing an indication of where the main research project could fail. Pilot studies were not deemed necessary for the archival study. The purpose of analysis with the archival data was to test, modulate and further test, identifying what can be coded in the construction of an extraction framework and coding book.

Pre-testing the interview schedules and data plans for the qualitative studies in this research, could highlight whether they were inappropriate or too complicated (Baker, 1994). The decision to not pursue pilot studies was made because it was not deemed necessary for qualitative approaches (Holloway, 1997). The progressive nature of qualitative data collection and analysis generally results in the second or subsequent interview/observation in a series being 'richer' than the previous one. This is attributed to the researcher gaining insight from previous interview/observations, which contribute to the improvement of the questions within the interview schedule as the research proceeds. Conversely, it could also be argued that the first interview is the least directed and the one in which the participant's voice

comes through more strongly, as the researcher has fewer expectations of what to expect or prompt for.

3.6 Data security and management

A Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) was created with the intention of capturing and formally documenting the sharing of data between BTP and the researcher. Prior to commencing the PhD, the researcher was subjected to Non-Police Personnel Vetting (NPPV) Level 3 security clearance, to allow access to BTP resources. The researcher received agreed access to resources, including staff and databases, to enable all proposed research activities. Identified Gatekeepers coordinated and facilitated the process of accessing the required resources. The parameters within the MOU provided the framework and limitations for the research project. Under the Data Protection Act (DPA) 1998 and General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR), any information determined to be of restricted level, and personal data, was not removed from BTP premises either physically or electronically. Middlesex University would securely keep and retain the project work, including all documents and materials for 3 years after the termination of the project, as well as retaining the results of the research project for 5 years. The MoU was reviewed on an annual basis for the duration of the project.

As described above, transcriptions and field notes were generated to form digital copies. Transcriptions of the interviews were stored securely in

password protected Word documents and all data were depersonalised as far as was possible. Participants were given pseudonyms throughout, and all names, places and operational rank were redacted, along with any other potentially identifying features of participants or sections of the transcript. For example, whilst the proactive police officers' rank was recorded for reference, it was not reported in extracts. Participants were given a confidential unique ID, so that records could be cross referenced whilst remaining confidential. A generic letter and number labelling convention was applied, which could not be used by way of participant identification in the labels. Only the researcher and the supervisory team had access to recordings or the redacted transcripts. Due to the nature of the research, redacted extracts from the interview were used in reports to BTP, conferences, publications and in this final thesis. Signed consent forms and other data were stored confidentially in a locked drawer.

3.7 Ethical challenges

All three studies within the research project were conducted subject to approval from Middlesex University's Research Ethics Committee (REC), devolved to the Department of Psychology. The British Psychological Society (BPS) guidelines assisted the decision-making involved at various stages across the studies, which ensured that the approaches and methods chosen yielded high quality data to appropriately address the research questions (BPS, 2009, 2010). As with any set of guidelines, they were not prescriptive but they were

conformed to within this research process. The researcher was also bound by the standards set out by the Health Care Professions Council (HCPC) for registered Practitioner Psychologists. Researching such a sensitive subject matter, required the application of technical competence and the use of the researcher's professional skill and judgement, supplemented by supervisory processes. It was also acknowledged that the researcher's own morals and values would have been central to many of the decision-making processes, which interplayed with the methodological considerations discussed above. The reflexivity section in Chapter 7 should be cross-referenced for a more explicit appraisal of this issue. It was envisioned that these actions would mitigate and reduce the impact on the integrity of the data collected.

The nature of this research required particular focus on the personal safety of the researcher when conducting fieldwork, especially in relation to Studies 1 and 2. The researcher carried out an analysis of risk, to include an assessment of what risks were present, their probability and severity, and actions needed to mitigate any identified risks. Issues were considered and addressed in the relevant ethical approval submissions and were supported by completed risk assessments. The researcher ensured that during fieldwork observations with the police officers, personal safety was paramount, and no risks were taken when pursuing potential suspects, e.g. getting on crowded trains. Personal risk was also considered when planning and conducting the interviews with individuals convicted of sexual offences. Location was

carefully thought through and all interviews took place in designated rooms within National Probation Service (NPS) offices. The researcher was acquainted with the safety procedures in each location and formulated an exit strategy for safely departing offices post interview. The researcher anticipated the potential to be exposed to things of a distressing nature while conducting this study. Any adverse impact experienced by the researcher was addressed in standard supervision and by an additional clinical supervision resource, which was provided by Middlesex University.

3.7.1. Ethical challenges of study 1 – Police perspectives

Police officers were recruited from the DIP (pickpocket) and sexual offences proactive teams at the BTP for this study. The researcher was aware that there may have been perceived or actual pressure from senior managers for officers to consent to taking part in the study. For this reason, officers were spoken to separately and considerable care was taken to ensure that police officers understood that taking part was voluntary. Senior officers were not informed of which officers took part. The researcher was conscious that the position of observer meant that inappropriate behaviour may be observed, and clearly stated that during observation any unprofessional conduct by officers would be reported to a senior officer. This was conveyed in a sensitive manner, as to minimise the impact on engagement with officers and data collection. Difficult experiences and issues had the potential to be raised during discussions in the interviews. Police officers or the researcher could

assess further support to manage this through the Trauma Risk Management (TRiM) at BTP, which offers counselling and additional services.

It was not possible to obtain consent from potential suspects whose actions and behaviours were observed during fieldwork. Naturally, this raised some issues with regards to ethics, however, observations were covert and did not involve more than minimal risk (e.g. the risk associated with everyday life) in relation to the potential suspect and was unlikely to pose any significant risk of harm. The researcher did not have contact and did not intend to follow up on suspects about their sexual behaviour, and so they remained anonymous. The researcher contemplated this issue and referred to the BPS code of ethics and conduct (p13), which stated:

"Psychologists should (ix) unless informed consent has been obtained, restrict research based upon observations of public behaviour to those situations in which persons being studied would reasonably expect to be observed by strangers, with reference to local cultural values and to the privacy of persons who, even while in a public space, may believe they are unobserved."

(BPS, 2009)

The observation in study 1 was conducted on London Underground, which is a public place that clearly indicates uses CCTV to assist with preventing and detecting crime and anti-social behaviour. There is clear visual signage that CCTV is in use and there are also audio announcements, therefore,

individuals using London Underground are aware of this culture and that they are under observation in this domain.

There is also the possibility of the researcher witnessing a sexual offence being committed whilst out on observations, which raises other important considerations. Apart from the support available to manage the impact of issues witnessed, the researcher could be called as a witness to the offence by officers. Agreement to be a witness would mean at the very least providing a witness statement, but it could also require attendance at court should the offence proceed to that stage. This posed a dilemma from a research point of view, as the researcher may feel pressured to comply with the request to be a witness and co-operate for fear of a negative impact on the research process. Consultation was sought from the supervisory team and head of the Middlesex University Ethics Committee, and the decision was made that the researcher would be supported to decide whether to be a witness, irrespective of the perceived expectations of police officers.

3.7.2 Ethical challenges of study 2 – Offender perspectives

Prior to commencing research activities for this study, ethical approval was sought and granted through the National Offender Management Service (NOMS), to enable the recruitment of offenders. Offenders were recruited through their Offender Managers (OMs) and the researcher was mindful that there may be perceived benefits or consequences for offenders taking part in the study, or not. For this reason, the researcher spoke with potential

participants before they agreed to the interview to ensure that the participants understood that taking part was voluntary. Participants were offered limited confidentiality during the interviews. For example, circumstances under which confidentiality did not apply, were if a participant discussed any issues that indicated a specific risk to themselves or others. This would include risk of self-harm, violence or disclosures of abuse. If such an event occurred, it was the researcher's duty of care to forward this information to the supervising probation officer to ensure their safety and the safety of others. Judgements were made based on the researcher being a Chartered Forensic Psychologist and HCPC registered Practitioner Psychologist, with previous experience and knowledge of working within the criminal justice system with vulnerable populations. The interviews were conducted in a manner that was alert to detecting and managing distress in interviewees, and issues with regards to vulnerability and safeguarding were always considered .

To maximise the validity of self-reports, stringent procedures were implemented regarding data collection, the protection of participants and the protection of the researcher, which replicate the study by Abel et al. (1987). Participants were asked to describe general characteristics of their sexual offences and victim characteristics, withholding specific facts not relevant to the study, e.g. any personal or identifying features of any past victims of a sexual offence. Implementing this directive as a protective measure, meant the researcher gained a clearer idea of prevalence and past behaviour, without

being placed in the position of having to report to the police with specifics regarding offences that may have been disclosed for the first time. The researcher was also alert to the possible perception that participants may perceive the interview as offering a therapeutic intervention. The researcher clearly stated that the interview was not being conducted with the intention of offering the individual therapeutic intervention, however, a participant could be signposted to the Lucy Faithfull Foundation, who indicated that they could offer some support to these individuals.

3.7.3 Ethical challenges of study 3 – Offence data

Prior to commencing the research project with BTP, the researcher was required to undergo a high-level vetting security clearance procedure, which was both detailed and invasive. Despite being been granted access information and having a signed memorandum of understanding (MOU) in relation to data sharing in place, there were additional checks to fully anonymise data, by BTP gatekeepers, before it was passed on to the researcher. Data breaches were a concern for BTP, given the highly sensitive nature of the data being handled, which required diligence by the researcher during data collection and processing phases. Research activities were conducted within the parameters outlined in the MOU, to minimise the risk of any data breaches on the part of the researcher. SafeHouse encryption software was installed on the researcher's hard drive, which held confidential files in password protected files. SafeHouse Explorer was also run directly from USB memory sticks so

that files could be accessed from public PCs. Additional passwords were also added to documents that were created to be shared with the supervisory team.

A further ethical consideration concerned the nature of the offender data used within the study. The data set contained perpetrators who had been arrested for the listed offence, who may not have gone on to be convicted of the offence. Thus, people who could have been exonerated are included in the dataset, which may skew the analysis, as the behaviours are not just based on those who have committed SOLT. Given that there is limited data available on perpetrators of SOLT, use of the available data was considered useful in this exploratory study, although caveated with the understanding of its limitations.

3.8 Summary

This research has adopted a mixed methods approach. Study 1 consisted of focus groups and observations, which considered the experiences of fourteen BTP police officers who had proactively worked on detecting SOLT. Two research questions focused on how the different types of sexual offences were committed on London trains, as well as how they were policed. Themes that emerged from the thematic analysis of the semi-structured interviews and observations were used to refine the design of subsequent studies exploring the crime-commission process of SOLT. Study 2 considered the experiences of five offenders who had been convicted of committing a

sexual offence on London trains. It provided not only details of the offending from offender perspectives, but it also afforded their narratives of how background and other factors contributed to their understanding of their actions during their offence. Study 3 provided the opportunity to utilise the available police data in quantitative analysis, which was examined within the organising principle of the three identified offences – Sexual Assault, Committing an Act Outraging Public Decency and Exposure.

This three-study exploratory design allowed for triangulation and an iterative sequential mixed analysis i.e. QUAL → QUAL → QUAN, which was conducted over the three phases of the research (outlined in Figure 6, chapter 2). A combination of analytical approaches was used across the studies, including thematic analysis and narrative analysis in the qualitative studies, with the aim of providing perspectives of offenders, police officers and victims to enhance understanding the crime-commission process of SOLT. Many factors were judged to have contributed to the exploratory approach taken in this research; the complexity of the subject matter and the issues being studied; the lack of existing research and the characteristics of the populations being researched. A balanced rationale was provided in relation to knowledge development and other methodological issues, in order to increase rigour and transparency about the processes employed.

This chapter presented the methodology that was used to fulfil the aim of the research, which was to gain a better understanding of the commission

of SOLT by working from the perspectives and experiences of those closest to this topic of interest. Collaboration with BTP enabled the exploratory research questions posed to be answered, but with the caveat that stringent data security and management measures were followed. This was consistent with the values and principles of the researcher, who as a Chartered Forensic, Practitioner Psychologist was accustomed to maintaining confidentiality and strict adherence to data protection legislation and policies. Finally, the ethical minefield of researching sexual offences demanded detailed consideration and decision-making within ethical guidelines to ensure good practice within this PhD research, adding to the legitimacy of the findings, which are presented in the forthcoming chapters in the thesis. This begins with an outline of the BTP operational context for the policing of SOLT, for the initial study of this thesis. The process and method of the study will then be presented followed by the findings and how they contributed to both policing policy and practice, as well as the development of the remaining investigations mentioned above.

Chapter 4 : Crime vs. Crime controller scripts: Deconstructing Sexual Offences on London Trains (SOLT)

This chapter reports the first study in the thesis, intended to explore SOLT to generate a meaningful contribution to this relatively new area of study. The crime commission process of SOLT was explored from the perspective of BTP proactive police officers to develop understanding of which behaviours occur during this type of offending. Findings from this study provided a starting point from which the remainder of the studies on SOLT were structured. The initial model presented as a SOLT crime script at the end of this chapter is refined, as a result of development in the subsequent studies, and is revisited and discussed in chapter 9.

The main research questions addressed in this study were the following:

- How are sexual offences committed on London trains?
- How do the BTP proactively police SOLT?

A descriptive model embodies the most essential level of theory building, the success of which relies on how well it captures the important aspects of how offenders go about performing their criminal acts (Polaschek, Hudson, Ward, & Siegert, 2001). The focus of this chapter is to identify the behaviours and decision-making processes of people who commit SOLT, as they are perceived by expert BTP police officers. A second focus is on how these

proactive police officers respond to the task of policing these sexual offences. This was explored through conducting observations of BTP proactive police officers tasked to police sexual offences and gaining their insights through group interviews which are synthesised into SOLT crime scripts.

This chapter begins by looking at the context in which BTP proactive officers operate. Then, the key concepts outlined in the literature review chapter relevant to this study are revisited and developed. Next, the methodology is outlined, which addresses the wider issues of control measures for more systematic script constructions. In order to begin the descriptive work, the chapter is then divided into two main sections of analysis. The first starts with developing a crime script of the perceived offence processes in sex offenders on London trains. The second section discusses the building of a corresponding crime controller's script. The final section outlines the implications of the findings from a law enforcement perspective.

4.1 Introduction

Reducing crime is at the core of BTP's purpose and activities and is a consistent priority, alongside keeping people safe (BTP, 2018). Over the last 10 years, despite decreases in some offence types on the rail network (such as robbery and criminal damage), reported sexual offences have increased by 167% (BTP, 2018). BTP police officers, police community support officers

(PCSOs) and police staff form a national force which deal with a full range of crimes that occur on the railway. The nature of crime recorded on the railways has changed over time with a greater threat of terrorist activity, as well as the increase in sexual offences. In addition, the number of passengers using the railway continues to rise. This change in the demand for services has impacted on the way police officers investigate crimes, as well as how the teams are organised.

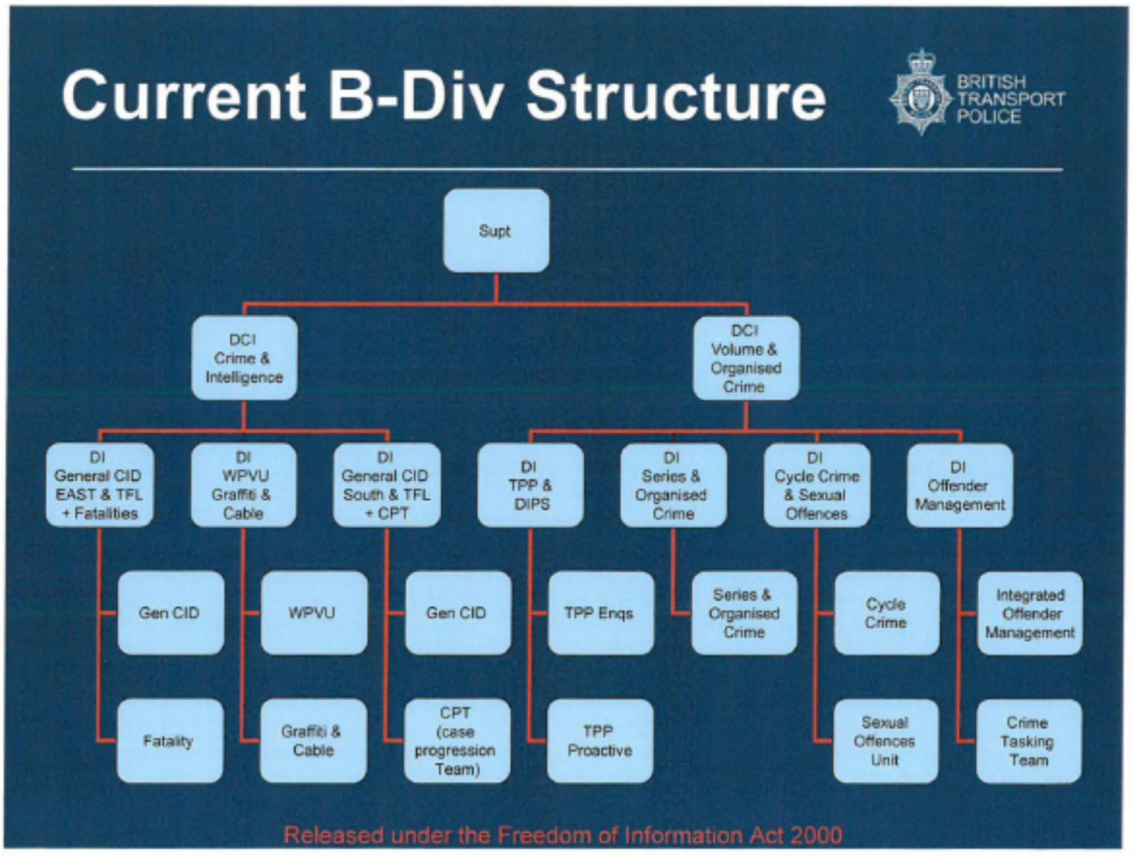


Figure 7 - BTP B-Division structure at the beginning of study 1 (October 2016)

The Sexual Offences Unit (SOU) came under the Cycle Crime & Sexual Offences division on the structure chart (Figure 7). SOU consisted of a

proactive team of 4-5 Detective Constables (DCs) who were tasked with preventing sexual offences from happening on the network, as well as having responsibility for the investigation of sexual offences. The proactive Pickpocket (Dip Squad) teams within BTP, were historically set up in response to volume crime[17] to tackle pickpocket crime hotspots. These teams were within the TPP[18] & DIPS structure under volume and organised crime (see Figure 7). Each team comprised a Detective Sergeant (DS) and a team of 4-5 Police Constables (PCs). These teams were responsible for deterring and detecting thefts like pickpocketing in central London, particularly on London Underground. Based on BTP's understanding that there were similar patterns followed by offenders that commit different crimes, such as sexual offences and pickpocketing, DIP Squads were often tasked with focusing on sexual offences to respond to the increase in reporting (BTP, 2016).

In the current climate, BTP are required to undertake preventative, disruptive and educative roles, working in collaboration with external agencies to address a range of criminal behaviours and problems (Ratcliffe, 2009). Adopting a problem-orientated policing (POP) approach, offers the potential to tackle the immediate causes of crime so that preventative strategies can be employed, and an alternative to enforcement led policing (Goldstein, 1979). Non-law-enforcement resolutions are promoted within the POP model of

[17] Volume crime is defined as a type of crime that is recorded more than 4,000 times in three years in any one of our subdivisions. BTP currently have two types of volume crime – theft of passenger property and cycle crime within London (BTP, 2016)
[18] TPP is an abbreviation for theft of passenger property.

policing, in addition to traditional responses. Combined with this approach is the proactive, intelligence-led policing, which produced a shift in the practice of policing with regards to crime control (Reiner & Newburn, 1992; Roberts, 2007). There has been a growing importance of covert policing, however, little is known about it in comparison to knowledge of 'mainstream', overt policing (Mac Giollabhuí et al., 2016). BTP proactive officers tasked with policing SOLT have extensive knowledge and experience of what they have observed on the job, which can contribute to the understanding of the problem. Whilst this can be achieved through the analysis of crime data, analysis of the entire crime-commission process from a policing perspective can yield a more detailed understanding of offending behaviours in situ.

4.2 Aim of the study

With the recent media attention on high profile sexual assault cases and the #MeToo movement against sexual harassment and assault, there is a focus on increasing public safety for women in public spaces, including on public transport. There has been an increase in the reporting level for sexual offences, specifically in the context of the London Underground network (BTP, 2018), requiring examination of the crime specificities and situational factors that assist offenders to achieve their goal of committing these sexual offences (Brantingham & Brantingham, 1991; Cohen & Felson, 1979; Cornish & Clarke, 1986; Wortley & Mazerolle, 2008). This emerging need can be

addressed through scripting the decision-making in the crime-commission process (Cornish, 1994a), to obtain a wider range of intervention-points for crime controllers to disrupt the script before completion (Leclerc, 2014). This study attempts to generate two scripts from the crime controller perspective of the BTP proactive police officers in relation to sexual offences committed on London trains.

The first is a hypothetical script which outlines an offender's crime-commission processes, as observed by the proactive officers on duty. This hypothetical script will address the research question, how are sexual offences committed on London trains? The second performed script, based on sequences of actions that are undertaken by BTP proactive police officers, will be a crime controller[19] script addressing the research question, how do the BTP proactively police SOLT? The intention of this script analysis is to identify the intervention process of proactive officers as crime controllers to prevent crime, exploring what actions facilitate completion of the script.

Construction of empirical scripts provides the basis for the design of potentially effective situational prevention measures (Leclerc, 2016). For example, as noted in chapter 2, the formation of empirically-driven crime scripts can be generated from multiple sources, including victim self-reports, court transcripts and police investigation files, with offender self-reports being

[19] The crime controller in this context is the British Transport Police (BTP) who is the place manager responsible for policing London railways (the crime setting).

the preferred method. Study 1 is designed to develop the idea that other agents directly involved in the crime event, specifically from a crime control and crime prevention perspective, could be instrumental in the analysis of crime events. Study 2 reported in chapter 5 utilises offenders' self-reports to contribute to the development of the SOLT crime script, however, the initial crime script developed in study 1 presented in this chapter, draws on police officers' insights and behaviours.

Complementary to generating an initial crime script on how sexual offences on London trains (SOLT) are committed, script analysis will also be conducted in relation to the police officers' proactive role in preventing SOLT. Taking a dual approach can add clarity to the limited understanding of SOLT. Drawing on the knowledge and expertise of frontline proactive police officers, the findings of study 1 can further assist the leadership team at BTP in their understanding of and strategic planning in relation to SOLT. The aim of the study was to generate crime scripts that can support the implementation of informed police responses to address the problem of SOLT.

4.3 Method

4.3.1 Participants

Fifteen BTP police officers were recruited from proactive units tasked with working on sexual offences. A purposive non-random opportunistic

sampling strategy was employed in this study. Within BTP at the time of the research, there were approximately 30 proactive police officers who covered 'dip' (theft from persons) and sexual offences on London Underground. There were also a further five proactive police officers from the SOU. The criteria for selection were that participants were currently working or had previously worked proactively in policing sexual offences. One officer withdrew due to competing work commitments.

Fourteen officers took part in the interviews, of whom nine also took part in the observations. There were 12 male participants and two females; three Detective Constables, two Detective Sergeants and nine Police Constables. Experience of working proactively on sexual offences within BTP ranged from 1 to 17 years. The officers were deployed in units of between two and five and they were recruited to participate in this study as units. It would have been beneficial to include criteria to represent the sample population on demographics such as gender, ethnicity and experience, however, this was limited by the characteristics of those who are willing to participate. The value within this study lies in the substantial sample of experts that are accessed, which addresses the imbalance in terms of what little is known about the world of covert policing (Mac Giollabhuí et al., 2016). Limited participant characteristics are reported below, to ensure that confidentiality is not compromised.

Proactive police officers within the SOU and two of the five 'Dip Squads'[20] were identified by their Detective Inspector as working most proactively on sexual offences whilst on duty. These officers were contacted via email (see Appendix E), to provide information about the study in the context of the wider research programme and invite them to take part in the observations and/or interviews. Potential participants were sent an information sheet (Appendix F) with details outlining the purpose of the study and what they were being asked to do. They were also sent an informed consent form (Appendix G) outlining that participation was voluntary, and that they could withdraw from the study at any time. An initial introductory meeting with staff was held to discuss the rationale for the study and give a brief account of what would be involved. The researcher was mindful that there may be perceived or actual pressure from senior managers for police officers to consent to taking part in the study. For this reason, the researcher spoke to the officers separately and took considerable care to ensure that police officers understood that taking part was voluntary and that senior officers would not be informed of who took part.

4.3.2 Materials

Two semi-structured interview schedules were prepared to guide the pre- and post- observation interviews with participants, to facilitate the

[20] Specialist units of officers in plain clothes who are deployed to spot suspicious behaviour and who are tasked at spotting the tactics and faces of the pickpocketing gangs.

collection of comparable qualitative data (Cohen, 2006). A further schedule was developed for those participants who were not currently working proactively and did not take part in any observations. Based on the literature review, the schedules covered the necessary topics, but provided the flexibility for participants to express themselves fully. The schedule was developed by compiling a list of questions relevant to gaining an understanding of what behaviours police officers look for in potential sex offending suspects when on their proactive duties. The design of the questions was also based on previous experience of conducting interviews and focus groups with key stakeholders including police officers. The schedule was agreed in consultation with supervisors before being submitted for University ethical approval. It was organised into two sections, with sets of questions and prompts covering experience and background factors and experiences of identifying sex offences. A debriefing sheet was emailed to participants at the end of their involvement (see Appendix H), outlining how study 1 fits within the wider context of the research and the remaining studies.

4.3.3 Procedure

Observations - The researcher undertook ten 'ride along' observations with the two proactive units, who agreed to participate in the study, during the period from October 2016 to January 2017. Two of the observations occurred between pre-and post-group interviews to better understand findings from the interviews. Observations involved travelling on the London tube network

during morning or evening rush hours, 08.00 - 09.30 and 16.30 – 19.00 respectively, with a proactive unit to certain hotspot locations. The notes App within a mobile phone was used to make some brief notes while conducting the observations, however, full field notes were made retrospectively, so as not to interfere with operational duties. The field notes for the two observations carried out in the context of the pre-and post-group interviews were completed after the post observation interviews. Whilst there was potential for the post observation interviews to influence the field notes, this was minimised using notes made during the observations and recording only what the researcher had observed.

Group interviews -Nine officers from two teams took part in two pre-observation interviews, five officers in one team and four in another (see Appendix I for interview schedule). The pre-observation group interviews were approximately 50 minutes each. Afterwards, the researcher accompanied the officers whilst on shift performing proactive duties on London Underground. Within an hour of the observation finishing, officers were interviewed as a group to see whether the shift had gone as expected and to reflect on and clarify the researcher's observations (see Appendix J for interview schedule). Two post-observation interviews took place; there were three officers present for one group and two officers present for the other. The duration of the post-observation group interviews were approximately 15 minutes.

Four officers took part in a group interview on one occasion, without an accompanying observation and one individual interview was conducted with a further officer. These officers had previously worked proactively on SOLT; however, they had subsequently moved to different teams, therefore no observations were possible with these officers. Questions within the interviews explored police officers' experiences of proactively policing sexual offences, how they became alerted to the potential of a sexual crime being committed, which behaviours of potential sexual offenders they observed when on London Underground and the different actions they took (see Appendix K for interview schedule). These interviews lasted between 40 to 75 minutes.

All interviews took place at BTP offices between October 2016 and January 2017. Interviews were digitally recorded and transcribed verbatim. To enable an accurate transcription of the individual/group interviews, they were recorded and stored securely in password protected Word documents (see example transcription in Appendix L). Typed field notes of observations were also made retrospectively in Word (see example in Appendix M) and stored securely. All data were anonymised in transcriptions; only the researcher and the supervisory team had access to recordings or anonymised transcriptions. Anything said by participants during the focus groups was treated as confidential. Each police officer was sent a debrief email (Appendix H) after

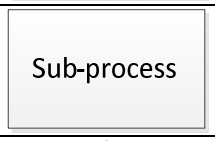
taking part in interviews and was provided further information about how their participation in the study contributed to the wider research programme.

Officers were also invited to take part in a validation feedback session, which was held four months after the final observation, where they were presented the initial findings from study 1. This feedback session was attended by five proactive officers who had taken part in the study, along with four other officers who had subsequently joined the teams. The briefing session provided officers with the opportunity to have input, to ensure that their ideas were captured accurately and fairly prioritised. Feedback from the presentation of findings did not result in any reframing or additional thinking about the initial crime scripts.

4.4 Script methodology

Cornish (1994a) identified five levels of abstraction: *tracks*, *scripts, protoscripts, metascripts* and *universal scripts*. A high-level *universal script* can be applied for an introduction to a broad topic, such as sex offending, however, these are usually too vague to be of value for practical use. At the other end of the scale, *track* level is the most specific and follows an action sequence from start to finish, requiring the level of detail for situation crime prevention to be practiced (Leclerc, Wortley, & Smallbone, 2011). For the script from study 1 to be useful for the police, the *track* script was used to show how sexual offences were committed on London trains, as well as proactively policed.

Table 3 – Crime script typology of symbols

	Start of process
	Flow lines direct the progression through the script
	Action performed by the offender
	Offender's behaviours that define actions
	Offender's decision, based on assessment of situation which determines the next action
	Exit point at which offender's actions cease

As mentioned in chapter 2, the *universal* script formulated by (Cornish, 1994a), was abstract and contained nine stages of crime-commission[21], which was different to what naturally emerged from the analysis of the data within this study. On that basis, the stages were compressed to seven stages, with the acknowledgement that it potentially reduces the number of potential crime prevention intervention points as specified (Ekblom & Gill, 2016). With limited guidance on how crime scripts should be developed and what information should (not) be included in a script, the following approach was taken: A crime script typology was adopted, using symbols that were similar to the ones used by Brayley et al. (2011), see Table 3. The principles of thematic

[21] As stated in footnote 9, the nine stages are preparation, entry, pre-condition, instrumental pre-condition, instrumental initiation, instrumental actualization, doing, post-condition and exit scenes (Cornish, 1994a).

analysis (TA) were used to develop themes within the script (Braun & Clarke, 2006) and overarching themes were used to group similar actions. For example, 'search behaviour' covered the subgroups 'unusual behaviour', 'goes against the norm', 'frantic desperation', 'tunnel vision' and 'combination of behaviours'. Using umbrella terms allowed for a degree in flexibility, so that subtle changes could be accommodated when refining the script.

4.5 Findings – Preliminary SOLT crime script

The initial crime script was developed using combined data from the group interviews and observations with BTP proactive police officers, which was thematically analysed (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Braun and Clarke's (2006) 6-phase guide was routinely followed, which generated several key insights into SOLT that were believed to be common to offenders. In this analysis, the focus was on the specific 'track' of inappropriate touching/groping offences (BTP Crime code E28). In constructing this *track*, attention was given to issues such as, how the offender went about the crime commission, e.g., how they access the scene, effort involved, and skills required, as well as the potential rational choices made by the offender. There were seven key stages that emerged (see Figure 8) which are further discussed in the following section.

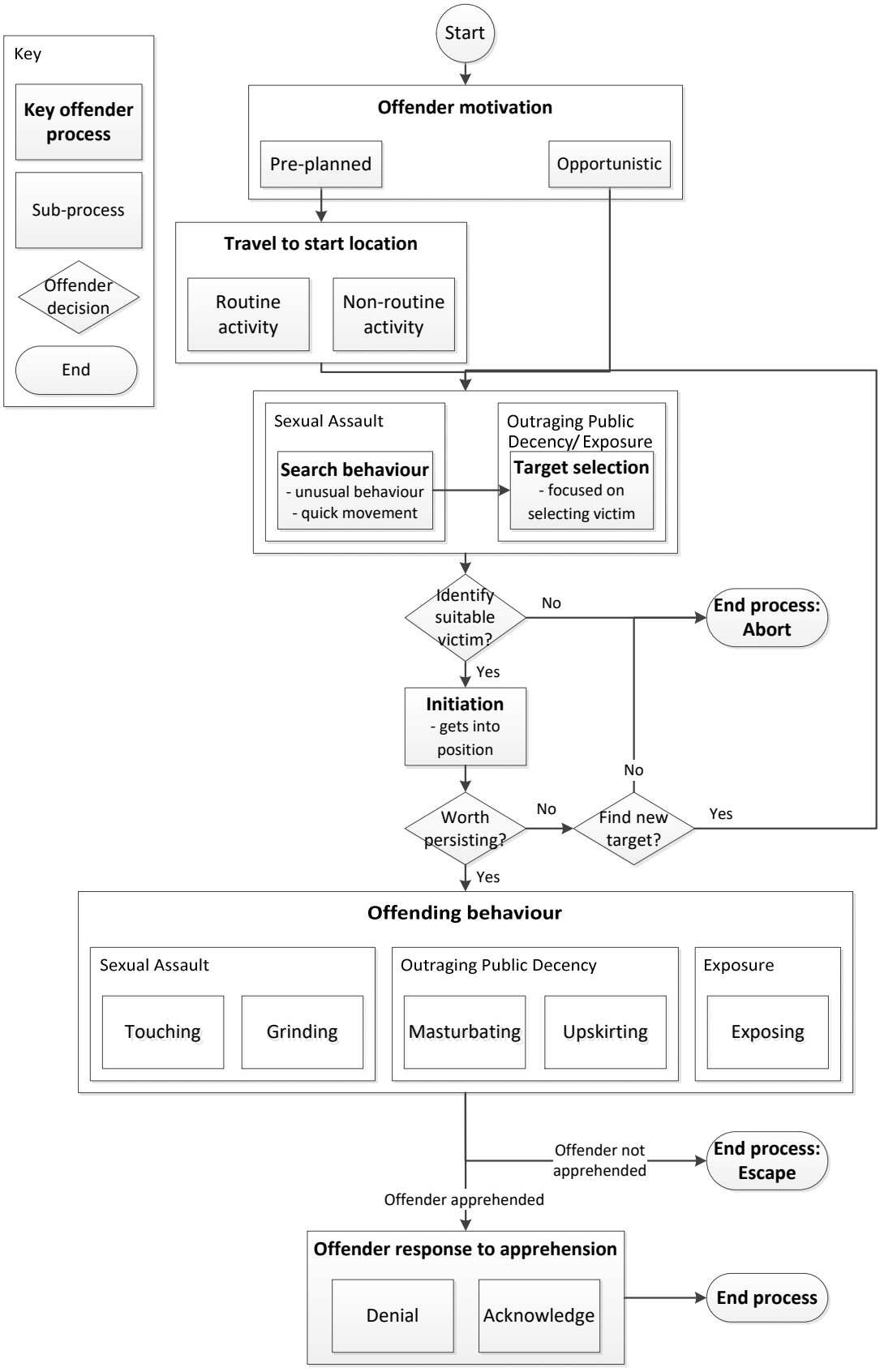


Figure 8 - Initial crime script for SOLT from BTP proactive police perspective

4.5.1 Key stages in offence process of SOLT

Offender motivation is the first stage identified from the police officers' perspective, which involved the offender being motivated to achieve a defined goal to commit USBs towards another individual. There was delineation, for police officers, between those offenders whose behaviours indicate that they pre-planned to commit a sexual offence or those that did not:

> *"The guy who was filming up skirts, he'd got it in a bag so it was very discreet. And he made his own device so it was very pre-planned."*
>
> (PO13, lines 2011-12)

The use of a prop, especially one that had been adapted, was seen by officers as a clear indication of premeditated actions in preparation to commit a sexual offence. On the other hand, officers were aware that there could be offenders who act on impulse.

> *"Some people say it is easier to arrest a sexual offender, I think maybe if a sexual offender goes down on the underground to offend then yes, maybe. But if a person is just on the underground, on a crowded underground and then they see someone they fancy and they just on impulse, do something then you are never going to pick that up beforehand because he has not exhibited any suspicious activity he's just done something there and then … I don't know how many of the crimes that come in are of that ilk and how many are of the offender that goes out to offend."*
>
> (PO11, lines 1653-59)

This extract considers the difficulties for proactive officers with detecting the impulsive sex offenders, as they are unlikely to display search behaviour.

Therefore, the travel to start location and search behaviour stages may be omitted for impulsive offenders, as they advance to the target selection stage almost instantaneously (as shown in Figure 8). The level of decision-making involved for these impulsive acts is debatable, however, the rational choice perspective (RCP) will argue that some calculation of the costs and benefits has taken place with the offender, no matter how briefly. There may also be an element of disinhibition influencing decision-making, as many people may see others they are attracted to on the tube, but they do not all impulsively offend against them. This officer went on to give an example of an offender who was perceived to be impulsive; the behaviour here being characterised as being rather inept and overt.

> *"I honestly think it was just a pure impulse. Because it was just an up..., on the escalator and he was doing it so rubbishly he obviously wasn't very good at it and the girl in front had a very short skirt - attractive girl on the escalator and he just blatantly did it, put it on his knee like he'd never done it before."*

(PO11, lines 2051; 2054-56)

In terms of providing a full description of the factors influencing offender motivation, it is beyond the scope of study 1, however, proactive officers perceived that offenders carry out these offences on the tube *"because they think they can do it"*, *"they're getting away with it"* and *"you can't prove it"* because it happens on a busy train and offenders think they've got *"an easy excuse"*. These insights implied that offenders use rationalisations as part of

their storylines within their narrative, which was conducive to their offending behaviour (Agnew, 2006).

The second stage related to **travel to the start location**, and whether where the offence took place was part of the offenders' lifestyle routine activities or whether it involved non-routine activities.

> *"Mr Smith works in the city and you know he travels from St Paul's to Lewisham every evening and that's his little window of opportunity to do what he does and then you have another chap who thinks "oh it's 4 o'clock I'm gonna go on the underground and do whatever I'm gonna do for the next 3 hours..."*
>
> (PO2, lines 249-52)

From police observations and investigations, most reported that sex offenders often offend whilst routinely on the way home, in what is a favourable setting for this type of offence. Whereas, they acknowledged that there are others who specifically enter the London Transport and are likely to use the same entry and exit location. The selected locations tended to be frequented during morning and evening rush hour periods. Notably, officers identified that they tended to identify offenders, who have predominantly committed Sexual Assault offences, in select locations which were typically very busy stations; characterised by big interchanges, with trains that were crowded and were more likely to be travelling through the City. Appendix C shows the number of references in relation to geographic elements relating to identified tube lines and key locations.

In relation to the **search behaviour** stage, police officers talked about there being baseline behaviours that they looked for in individuals, which include the expected activities of most tube users – i.e. travelling from A to B with intention and purpose. Officers were alerted to the possible search behaviours of offenders, when they observed behaviours that are unusual and go against tube norms. However, police officers acknowledged that it was not enough for a suspect to exhibit one unusual behaviour, they referred to observing an offender carry out a combination of unusual behaviours in this stage of the offence process.

> *"Walking on the platform not looking at the board, it could be, it's not just one single thing that they might do it will be a combination of a few little things. Not look at the board, looking at people, going from the quiet end walking down to where there is bigger crowds, which obviously no one with any... you want an empty carriage don't you? Not the busiest parts, it will be a combination of a lot of little things."*
>
> (PO4, lines 139-43)

Furthermore, offender search behaviour was defined by quick movement and it was this type of overt behaviour which raised the suspicions of the proactive officers. Although not all offenders demonstrate quick movement in this stage, officers have observed this to be the case most of the time.

> *"They'll see something, and they will suddenly zip around… their movement is quicker."*
>
> (PO1, lines 1615-16)

Offenders' behaviours in the **target selection** stage were observed by officers to be pronounced and were characterised by the offender being intensely focused. Officers described the different ways they could see that an offender had *"clocked on to a target"* (PO3, lines 150):

> PO11: … *following their eyes they're looking down, they quite often will be looking at a girl's, generally their arse and he'll, they'll just go towards it like, like...*
>
> PO12: *A moth to a flame.*
>
> *PO11: That's it, a moth to a flame.*
>
> (lines 1616-22)

This behaviour was observed by officers to be such an extreme characteristic of offenders selecting their target, that offenders were unaware of their surroundings or that their actions were being observed. Finally, in this stage, officers suggested that if an offender was unsuccessful in finding a suitable target, potential offenders would abort their search at this stage perhaps seeing it as a missed opportunity.

Proactive officers perceived that if target selection was successful, the search behaviour of an offender transitioned to the **initiation stage** of offending behaviour. This was defined by the offender positioning himself in order to commence the offence.

> *"He was stood in a T stance towards the victim and feet were positioned in an unnatural stance for someone who does not know the woman. He was*

in personal space and was so close that when he was breathing I could see her hair move."

(Observation field notes, lines 134-6)

As the extract above illustrated, offenders' behaviours would include following the victim to get into close proximity and generally positioning behind the victim. Officers did recall an instance when an offender was observed to be more intimidating in his positioning, which had a different more 'aggressive' feel to what officers usually observed. It transpired with this offender that he had an arrest for a rape charge (in another police service), with no further action taken. The aggressive and confrontational elements of the offender's behaviours indicated that he was exerting his power and control. In the initiation stage, officers also indicated that victim response may require the offender to modify their actions or abort the process, e.g. if the selected target moves or gets off the train.

In the **offending behaviour** stage, officers listed behaviours that occur, which included touching with hands:

"As he got on he just moved the back of his hand forward and he touched a woman on the backside."

(PO12, lines 2350-1)

There were also offences involving the groin area, officers described how offenders will often be *"behind a female and so they'll have their groin in their*

bottom" (PO3, lines 260-261). Other behaviours include masturbating, exposing and upskirting. In many cases the sexual offence was not limited to a single behaviour, there could be a combination of behaviours or an element of the offender following the victim and continuing the offending behaviour. These actions were observed to be exhibited in several ways, often with the use of props e.g. umbrellas, bags, newspapers, covert mobile devices etc. to disguise or facilitate their behaviour. On one hand, use of props, again, suggests an element of pre-planning on the part of the offender. On the other hand, a rainy day may result in an individual having an umbrella, which then provides an opportunity where they realise they could use it as a prop.

The final stage in the offence process for offenders who are apprehended by police officers is their **response to apprehension**. Responses range from shocked to denial to displaying extreme physical responses, such as urinating.

> *"When arrested, and taken upstairs, the suspect initially denied doing anything, he then admitted that his hand touched woman's bottom but not his groin area. Said "I'm sorry" several times."*
>
> (Observation field notes, lines 145-8)

There was evidence from the ethnographic observations to suggest that the default response to apprehension is denial of the alleged offence.

"Generally, they don't really fight, other than one example" (PO13, line 2095),

overall, offenders tended not to act aggressively. The incident involving violence occurred because the offender mistook the arresting officer for the father of the underage girls he had sexually assaulted and feared reprisal. The script acknowledges that there will be some offenders who will have avoided apprehension, although the offence may still be reported later by the victim. A more detailed analysis of the different responses by perpetrators in the post-offence phase can be found in Appendix C.

4.6 Findings – Crime controller script

The proactive police officers' script presented the process of their actions in relation to interrupting the crime commission process described above, identifying the actions that successfully led to the arrest of an offender. This analysis focused on the specific *track* of policing Sexual Assault (E28[22]) offences, which involve touching/groping. This crime script track is based on the sequence of actions that are observed when proactive officers have been on duty policing SOLT. The decision points and factors that influence the decision-making process are discussed, as well as the phases identified in the script. Finally, the overlap of the stages in the SOLT crime script are considered in relation to the crime controllers' phases.

[22] The BTP offence recording code

4.6.1 Decision points

Nine decision points were identified: here proactive officers' decisions determined whether there would be an increased opportunity to disrupt suspects from committing SOLT or whether they proceed to the next action. The full list of emergent themes for the proactive police officer role and skills set can be referred to in Appendix C. Six of the nine decision points occur before any offending takes place. The first two decisions were in relation to finding the optimum time and location for conducting proactive duties. Location was considered in terms of both the station, and the actual location on the platform. The outcome of these decisions potentially had an impact on the likelihood of being at the right time and place to identify an offender. Insights about the physical environment of station locations and platforms can direct intervention, and will be best informed by offence data, in addition to proactive officers' experiences.

The next two decisions points require judgements about the behaviours proactive police officers observe, which are based on their schemas of what is unusual or reasonable behaviour. This will be governed by their own values, beliefs and experiences, as well as being in consensus with other team members. These decisions also rely on what the proactive officers observe; their skills and competence to process information and make judgements are key in this situation. Working in a unit with three to five officers, also requires being able to gain consensus at these decision points and maintaining effective

communication whilst undertaking covert policing. More than one proactive officer may be observing different suspects simultaneously, it was not clear how decisions were made regarding which potential incident to pursue. This decision point is crucial, as the time invested to pursue one suspect who does not go on to commit a sexual offence, takes valuable time away from the team being able to identify and pursue another possible suspect who subsequently does commit a sexual offence.

One area of conflict identified in the feedback session related to the observation that the three units had different approaches to proactively policing sexual offences. There were noticeable differences observed regarding the way in which the units and individuals within the units worked. Furthermore, the way they talked about the issue of policing SOLT varied with some units and individuals, more than others, talking about the moral dilemma discussed in the next paragraph. Some of the officers did not agree with the interpretation in the findings that there was a difference in culture across the units. Whilst this feedback was acknowledged, it was not central to the development of the script at this initial stage. Although, it may be an area to explore when focusing on other aspects of SOLT, such as the training of officers, the implementation of operational strategies or the evaluation of policing effectiveness.

The final two decision points for proactive officers to intervene **before** any potential sexual offences are committed, involved officers having to

consider the moral dilemma presented by the situation. Proactive officers faced a moral dilemma when detecting sexual offences, as they are required to ensure that they have enough evidence to intervene and make an arrest. A main concern reported by officers was not the nature of identifying a potential sexual offender but having to observe an offence being committed to gain enough evidence before intervening. On a moral level, all officers appear to have gone through this decision-making process as to whether this action sits comfortably with them or goes against their values. Opinions differed as to whether officers were able to reconcile the strong feelings that arose from having to solve what they perceived as a moral dilemma. Another officer provided the parameters which guided his decision-making as to whether he intervenes before he has enough evidence.

> *"I always take it on a case-by-case basis, I'm not going to let…like a young girl or a child be, somebody who, who, on the surface, who is obviously vulnerable you're not going to let it happen."*
>
> (PO11, lines 1707; 1708-1710)

There are, however, limitations to this approach; vulnerabilities are only visible for a proportion of people, for example those with mental health problems, learning disabilities or ill health may go undetected. It also indirectly creates an inadvertent narrative that suggests those who are not considered vulnerable, are not afforded the same level of protection by the proactive officers in terms of stepping in before a suspected sexual offence takes place.

This unintended bias is a result of ways in which officers rationalise the moral consideration of detecting and apprehending sex offenders. Here lies a paradoxical implication. The people officers see as targeting the most vulnerable victims are the ones they intervene with before they can prove the offence, so they subsequently may be harder to convict.

Deliberation of factors relating to the criminal justice process was at the forefront of officer's minds during their proactive policing duties. Experience appeared to have governed the way in which decisions are made at this point, and the decision to intervene was largely dictated by whether officers perceived to have observed a reaction from the victim. Without an observed reaction from the victim, officers felt reluctant to intervene, as experience has repeatedly shown them that they will be unsuccessful with progressing the case through the criminal justice process.

> *"I went to court recently and I got questioned in court on what is your threshold? What is the evidence? And got the moral question if you saw that happen why did you let it continue? And it's not the right answer to that but, the answer I said, the reason I allowed it to continue is probably because if I stopped it when I first believed there to be an assault then we wouldn't be here in court today because it wouldn't have got through CPS on the night and it's the wrong answer but unfortunately that's the way the justice system works at the moment whereby I have to allow it to continue to get the evidence to allow it to get to court."*
>
> (PO4, lines 490-7)

This proactive officer's extract reveals that officers must to a degree 'play the game' to get the desired outcome from the criminal justice system. This is a far from ideal situation from the (potential) victims' perspectives, as well as the officers'. However, from the offender's viewpoint, they are innocent unless proven guilty, so they must have committed an act, not just thought about it, to be convicted. Officers voiced their accounts and experiences of frustrations at the court process; however, it is essential to recognise that there are multiple perspectives to balance in relation to ensuring the human rights of all are preserved.

4.6.2 Phases

The script was divided up into three consecutive phases. This was done by clustering actions with the same overarching goal, which were Identification, Covert Action and Outcome. A single *track* was presented, to denote that the same sequence of actions generally occurred in this crime controller process. Within each phase of the script, there is an opportunity for the proactive police officers to end the script. On two of these observed occasions the officers were not able to intervene, this may be because no sexual offence took place. The third point was a result of a suspect being released when officers judge that they have not found enough evidence to process the case.

Phase 1: Identification. Figure 9 shows the initial decisions and actions police officers take during the first phase of detecting potential suspects. Generally proactive officers, as a team, were able to choose when

and where they would undertake their proactive duties, although there were some occasions when they were tasked to specific locations. These were on 'days of action', which were intelligence led, however, there was freedom to move to more suitable locations if required. Morning and evening rush hour periods were prioritised by proactive officers; choosing stations that were busy and had the right conditions for them to observe individuals discretely. Officers tended to be routine in their placement on platforms, often standing in the same pair, waiting in areas identified as being optimal for *"spotting"* offenders. This is potentially the point at which the crime and crime controller scripts interact, as proactive officers may be waiting on the platform when the offender arrives at the start location.

Officers often stood at the entrance/exit areas that tend to be busy as it provides the right environmental conditions for offenders to search and select their target. Officers identified a variety of individual skills needed for the proactive role and highlighted that the most important one was *"having the eye, it's being able to spot that unusual behaviour"* (PO9, lines 2591-2). This was considered a key attribute; proactive officers without this skill were judged to be at a disadvantage when carrying out their proactive duties aimed at disrupting the offender's crime commission script.

An extension of having acuity, was the ability to be skilful at recognising faces.

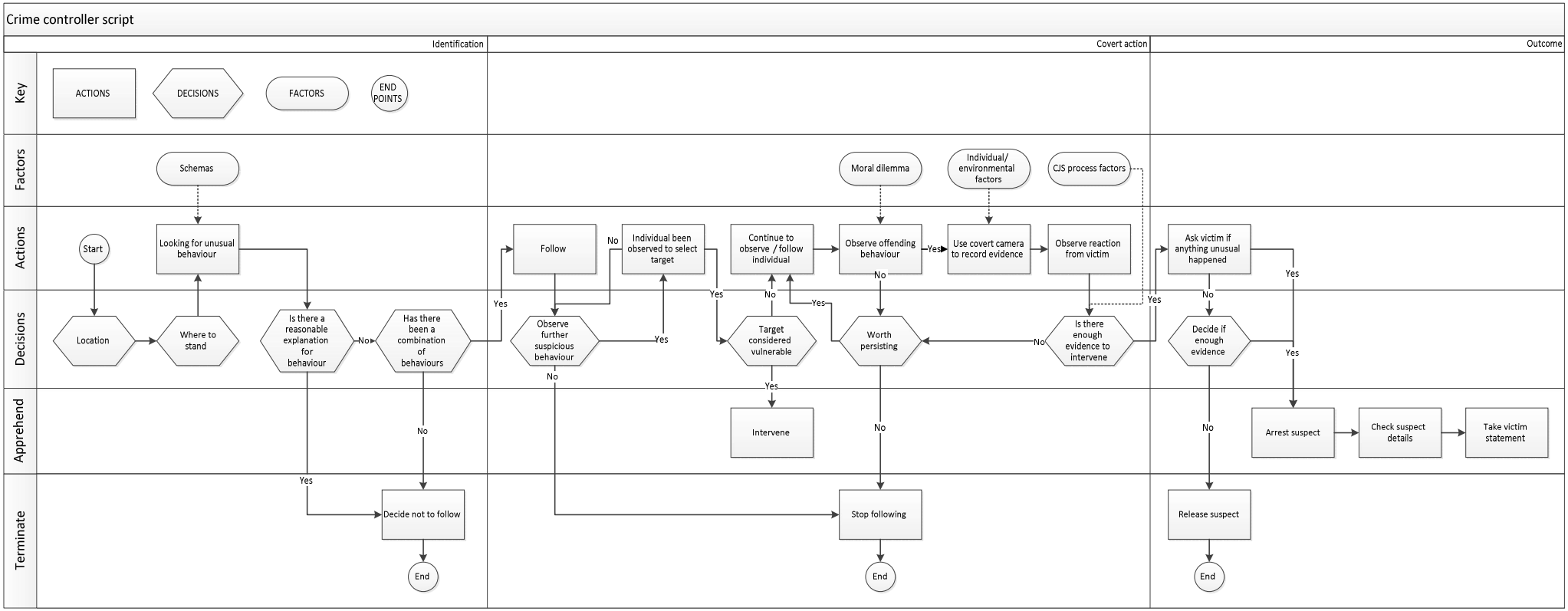


Figure 9 - Crime controller script for SOLT

"I'm not very good with stills, PO9's very good with stills, PO10's very good with stills... I'm not very good at looking at the stills… while some officers are really good at with that."

(PO8, lines 3219-20)

There is an emerging evidence for the existence of people with a superior face recognition ability called face 'super-recognizers' (Davis, Jansari, & Lander, 2013). Officers who possess this skill were deemed as a valuable resource in their unit because they rely critically on face recognition while looking for suspects identified in ID photographs (Russell, Duchaine, & Nakayama, 2009). Super-recognisers are highly reliable in recognising faces in even the poorest images, frequently identifying local suspects. It was accepted by most officers that not every proactive officer will possess all the skills best suited to the job; officers were aware of their individual strengths and weaknesses in their proactive role. No one officer is likely to excel at all the skills required, which is why they value working in a team. This has implications for how officers are recruited, and personnel are deployed, within effectively balanced units to work proactively on SOLT.

Phase 2: Covert Action. Once proactive officers have identified that a suspect had displayed a combination of unusual behaviours, they will proceed to undertake surveillance as part of covert action, see Figure 9. Key actions in this stage are discretely following a suspect whilst they are searching for a target, which is one of the more challenging aspects in the underground

environment. Suspects tend to be unpredictable in their movements, walking up and down a platform, getting on and then off a train, as well as looping in circles. Proactive officers need to maintain a close enough distance to observe the suspect, without being seen. Observing the 'target selection' and 'initiation' stages of the SOLT crime script in the covert action phase, can be a trigger for officers to attempt to use covert cameras to record the evidence of the offending behaviour.

> *"We've just started using covert cameras, as you know, but obviously, we have only used it two or three times, so we haven't seen it all through court yet, so that's still pending."*
>
> (PO4, lines 585-6)

> "*We've struggled to use them, but I guess that's not their fault they're trying to give us what we need".*
>
> (PO11, lines, 1911-12)

An officer's experience of success will influence whether they use a covert camera, but the conditions of the environment will also dictate whether it is feasible to attempt a recording. For example, extremely crowded environments, which are often the case when these sexual offences occur, are not conducive to using the cameras because of the difficulties in obtaining good quality footage. Officers reported that this covert action phase can vary in length, with duration lasting a few minutes up to 40 minutes. Observing the

'offending behaviour' stage in the crime-commission process is pivotal in the pursuit of obtaining an outcome and moving to the next phase.

Stage 3: Outcome. Once proactive officers were satisfied that they potentially had enough evidence to intervene, some officers took the opportunity to detain the suspect whilst the other spoke to the victim of the sexual offence see Figure 9. Officers acted with tact and professionalism in asking questions and in the event of taking witness statements. Similarly, officers treated suspects with respect, whilst carrying out their duties. The 'offender response to apprehension' process in the SOLT crime-commission script interacts with the crime controller's script, and proactive officers are faced with the varied behaviour of offenders being detained, which was observed to be unpredictable.

> *"Suspect apprehended by the other half of the unit at Bank, the female officer asked if he understood what had happened. His response was "the train was packed" "if the woman had a problem she should have said something", "I've done nothing wrong", "I have a wife and two kids". There was denial that anything happened."*
>
> (Observation field notes, lines 70-3)

The above extract illustrated the way in which suspects offered excuses in response to initial questions about the alleged offence. This was often accompanied by denial and rationalisations in relation to the allegation.

4.7 Practical applications and recommendations

4.7.1 Policing

The scripts were considered from both a situational crime prevention approach and whether there were general applications for different stakeholders. The crime script provided a more detailed account of how SOLT was carried out and could be considered as a useful briefing document for police new to SOLT. Crime-specific analyses have provided additional information regarding the effect of routine activities on this type of offending (McNeeley, 2015). Information about the component parts of the crime is presented in a simple diagram, which shows sequences in action and how the parts connect. The findings from proactive police officers suggest that in terms of location, Sexual Assault offences were spatially concentrated on certain parts of the tube lines or busy tube/train stations. This empirical evidence found support for the notion that characteristics of place were particularly important in generating opportunities for crime events (McNeeley, 2015).

These preliminary findings would be of use to senior management for strategy planning, including the deployment and development of frontline officers. Focusing on crime behaviours that have become routinised makes it easier to obtain knowledge on the basis of which they can be disrupted (Cornish & Clarke, 1986). This information can also guide analysts, providing a clearer sense of behaviours involved in SOLT, to assist in the interpretation

and application of intelligence received from victim reports. The crime script could also be shared with wider stakeholders to aid the development of other initiatives for preventative or disruptive interventions to complement the existing RITSI campaign.

After identifying the crime controller script for the proactive police officers, the script was considered in terms of situational measures that could be mapped onto each stage of the script to facilitate its completion. The goal of situational crime prevention measures from the BTP perspective should be to decrease efforts, decrease risks, increase the rewards and remove excuses to not intervene (Leclerc, 2014). This approach would support BTP in successfully intervening and preventing some sexual offences taking place (Leclerc & Reynald, 2017). For example, in the identification phase, there may be scope for technology to be employed to better focus proactive efforts in locating potential suspects. This option can be explored looking at how CCTV or other technology could be used in this phase. Another option would entail an evaluation of the quality and use of covert cameras, to maximise their successful use by proactive officers to gain evidence during the covert action.

4.7.2 Legal considerations

The covert action phase had many factors that could potentially influence and contribute to the decisions made by proactive police officers. Not having enough evidence to make an arrest for SOLT is one reason for not intervening. Officers had a discussion around the issue of prevention,

deterrence and enforcement and were largely of the belief that only the latter is effective at addressing the issue. Exploring potential prevention and deterrent interventions-- that could be employed by officers-- may provide credible options for disrupting the crime-commission process. Related to this issue of evidence in both the covert action and outcome phases, is the awareness in officers of the thresholds within criminal justice system (CJS) processes. Currently the evidentiary threshold is considered a barrier which is out of the proactive officers' control. This raises the possible need to have discussions with relevant stakeholders, such as the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) about the CJS factors that impact on the successful conviction of individuals committing SOLT. This includes; the perceived greater requirements of evidence for SOLT cases, long delays to scheduled court hearings and the ordeal of victims testifying and undergoing strenuous and traumatic cross-examinations. It could be that having a greater understanding and awareness of SOLT by legal practitioners might have a positive impact on prosecution strategies (Brayley et al., 2011). The crime script also offered an overview of SOLT, that was aligned with the current debate which led to the criminalisation of upskirting within the Voyeurism (Offences) Act, 2019.

4.8 Conclusion

Policing in the current climate requires practices that include harm-reduction interventions, thus, police officers are increasingly adopting proactive, rather than reactive approaches (Brayley et al., 2011). In these

conditions, access to tools which complement existing resources can help identify new ways forward for intervention. Drawing on the use of crime scripts facilitated an understanding of SOLT, by deconstructing it into component parts, many of which are relevant for the three key offences being committed. It can, therefore, become easier to identify a broader range of policy options and opportunities for intervention (Clarke & Cornish, 1985). This resulting diagram (Figure 8) visualising the crime script can help focus intervention, grounded in prior experience and the knowledge of typical aspects of a given crime (Brayley et al., 2011).

This study also highlighted the benefits of focusing on the crime event rather than the offender, when exploring SOLT from different perspectives. Drawing on the problem analysis triangle, the objective of this chapter was to extend the reach of the script approach when considering situational prevention. It focused on facilitating the supervision and intervention process of proactive officers in respect of policing SOLT. As such, this third party development of scripts to take into account those who may be present during crime events should eventually make a greater impact on whether or not crime is committed (Leclerc, 2014). Ultimately, scripts alone cannot solve SOLT, but if employed in a reflective and systematic manner, they can generate innovative ideas for intervention. Scripts enable a common language and frame of reference for different stakeholders and can therefore facilitate multi-agency collaborations to address the presenting issue of tackling SOLT.

There are some limitations within this study 1. The scripts consist of data primarily elicited from a selection of proactive police officers who had experience of policing sexual offences. Partial information can be inferred, however, it was not possible to glean some information on all the steps involved in the crime-commission process, as this would require offenders' insights. Whilst this small-scale study limits the generalisability of the findings, it is hoped that the findings from the interviews and observations provide an insight into the complexities of policing SOLT at various levels. Due to the nature of proactive policing, whilst the scripts were intended to encompass all sexual offences occurring on London transport, it is more directed to touching/groping offences and less directed towards offences such as upskirting. For example, upskirting offences primarily take place on stairs and escalators, which proactive officers do not routinely police, other than using them to get to places. The hypothetical crime script for SOLT is further limited in its ability to explore offender decision making, as the data have not been generated from offenders. Elaboration of the script is required to address this aspect and provide a more comprehensive performance script.

The merits of study 1 lie in the innovative ways in which the script approach has been employed, to generate the first empirical script for crime controllers. The ethnographic approach provided the insider (emic) perspective from the proactive officers which gave an account of what they say they do, as well as the researcher's outsider (etic) perspective of what the

proactive officers actually do. Furthermore, the creation of a preliminary script for SOLT, provides a framework to systematically investigate all the stages of the crime-commission process, to assist the design of situational crime prevention measures. Many of the considerations for preventative proposals may not be immediately impactful, requiring greater collaboration with BTP, relevant stakeholders and the researcher to refine ideas and generate realistic suggestions.

Findings from this study provide a starting point for understanding the crime commission process for SOLT. This study defined the primary interest and the major focus for the following studies, which sought to build on the initial findings chronicled in this chapter.

The scripts are considered, very much, a work in progress and it is anticipated that as new data becomes available through the further studies in this project, the script will be tested and modified. The next chapter presents further research focused on eliciting offender perspectives to fill the gap in relation to decision-making and rational choice approaches. The findings presented in chapter 5 are based on interviews of convicted offenders of SOLT, which will add to the current scripts' capabilities. Study 1 also acted as a springboard for examining the SOLT data from police records, which is presented in chapter 6.

Chapter 5 : The narratives of people who commit sexual offences on London trains (SOLT)

This chapter describes the second study in the thesis, which builds on the previous study examining SOLT. The approach taken in study 2 provides an important contribution to this relatively new area of research. Offender perspectives on their offending behaviours are the focus of this chapter, in order to add a subjective perspective to the analysis and theoretical interpretation of the study. Analysis of the offender narratives derived from semi-structured interviews, is intended to explore offender motivation and the influence of situational and environmental factors on the decision-making process in the crime-commission process. The main research questions addressed are:

- How are the different types of sexual assaults committed on London railways?
- How do individuals talk about their offences?
- How do they describe themselves? What do the narratives tell us about how they construct their identities?

Findings from study 2 develop the preceding study in this thesis, by adding offender perspectives on their behaviour and the reasons for it. For example, what behaviours do individuals show when they commit the offence and what situational factors influence their behaviour?

5.1 Introduction

Sexual harassment and assault have become a critical social issue for women on a continuum of gendered violence, and increasingly more of a focus in the context of public transport research (TFL, 2015). As reported in chapter 2, there has been an increase in the number of sexual offence reports, whereas, convictions rates have decreased over the past three years from 32% to 26% to for the 17/18 reporting year. This is a concern given the unpleasant social and psychological experiences that women experience when they are travelling in public places (Gardner, Cui, & Coiacetto, 2017). Consequently, women may become 'transit captive' and socially excluded if they are afraid to travel on public transport and do not have access to private transport (Smith, 2008).

Most women and girls experience sexual harassment and assault from men they do not know in public places, including public transport (Logan, 2015). Shoukry et al. (2008) defined the 'male harasser' as one who emphasizes masculine values and cultures found in and supported by the society they inhabit in Egypt, and is a reflection of the socially embedded male-dominated power relations between men and women within society (Hotelling & Zuber, 1997). There is considerably less research on harassers than on victims. The sparse literature available suggests two general, overlapping categories of rationalisations for harassment in public spaces, both shaped by masculine entitlement: male bonding, and control (Logan,

2015). Some men view their harassment as human nature, harmless demonstrations of sexual attraction, and on occasion, a way to bond with other men or to respond to boredom (Benard & Schlaffe, 1984; Fairchild & Rudman, 2008; Quinn, 2002).

Research on perpetrators of SOLT is currently very limited within the UK, with most of the literature focusing on victim experiences, and more recently bystander intervention (Gekoski, 2017). A shift in focus is required for further research on this phenomenon; trying to undertake crime research without involving the offenders is like trying to write a play without characters (Nee, 2004). Including the offender's perspective on their own behaviour is important for understanding different types of crime and patterns of offending for any crime, including SOLT.

5.2 The role of narrative criminology

The narratives of individuals who offend have more frequently been seen only as providing descriptions, rather than insight to explanations and meaning-making by the narrator (Presser, 2009). Narratives can take many different forms – romance, comedy, tragedy and irony (McAdams, 1993) and can signify how individuals look for meaning and spiritual depth in life (Singer, 2004). For individuals convicted for sexual offences, that narrate stories of 'shattered lives' in a criminal justice system (CJS), there may also be places within their narrative that are 'messy and hard to follow' (McKendy,

2006). The 'narrative debris' described by McKendy (2006) includes false starts, pauses, gaps, inconsistencies, self-interruptions, repetition and various kinds of verbal stumbling. This may be relevant when the narrator is provided with the opportunity to narrate their storyline, providing offence related accounts, in a less restricted role, such as in this study, as opposed to within the more formal and consequential setting of the CJS.

Chapter 2 introduced the notion of storylines being organised in relation to two themes: Agency and Communion (McAdams, 1993). There is relevance for developing these ideas as the basis for understanding how the psychological processes of intimacy and potency can manifest in the context of SOLT (Youngs & Canter, 2012a). For example, in the context of SOLT, intimacy may be best understood as a measure of the relevance to the offender of the victim, such that high awareness of the victim produces an explicit desire to affect them (Youngs & Canter, 2012b). Low intimacy is characterised by narratives in which the characteristics of the victim are irrelevant to the offender. Potency may be better understood as the imposing of the offender's will. High levels would see the offender taking charge and conquering the environment and/or victim to maximise his gains; by contrast, low levels of potency suggests impassivity and being swept along by events in the role of the criminal protagonist (Youngs & Canter, 2012b).

Narratives are tailored for storytelling by the teller. This is often met with suspicion about the degree of truthfulness being offered, especially in the

context of an offender providing the narrative (Nee, 2004; Presser, 2009). The focus is on how individuals talk about their offences, what they say and what it communicates about their construction of their identities. Narrative analysis offers another level of theory construction that pays attention to individuals' experiences, values and beliefs (Ward & Hudson, 1998). When asked why they offend, individuals tend to place little importance on background factors, and instead provide a storyline of temporally limited interrelated set of events and conditions explaining why they engaged in crime (Agnew, 2006). Rejecting the stance that offender's stories are potentially inauthentic, which examines the 'truth' of narrative as data on human experiences, for a social constructionist epistemological position which accepts that the story being told offers insight to reality within the context of the telling (Presser, 2009). From this viewpoint, Presser (2009) argues that *"one makes choices on the basis of a self that is conjured as the protagonist of an evolving story"* (p.184).

Traditionally, the structure of a storyline will consist of a beginning, middle and end, with "something happens" to the individual being the beginning (or trigger) event (Labov, 1972) - see Figure 10. This event will have a temporary effect on the individual, such as a temporary increase in stress levels, reduction in social control, greater opportunities for crime and/or an increase in the presence of individual traits (e.g. anger, low self-control etc.) (Agnew, 2006). The outcome of these effects provides the middle period of the storyline, in which the individual is more likely to engage in criminal acts

during this period; the duration of which may last from a few minutes to weeks. The storyline ends when the individual's level of strain, social control, opportunities for crime or individual characteristics are restored to their original levels (Agnew, 2006). This will occur because of an act, which may or may not be criminal. Thus, the use of storylines can give meaning to the speakers' lives and show how stories and different self-narratives are themselves implicated in whether they promote criminal action, or desistance from crime (Maruna, 2001; Presser, 2010).

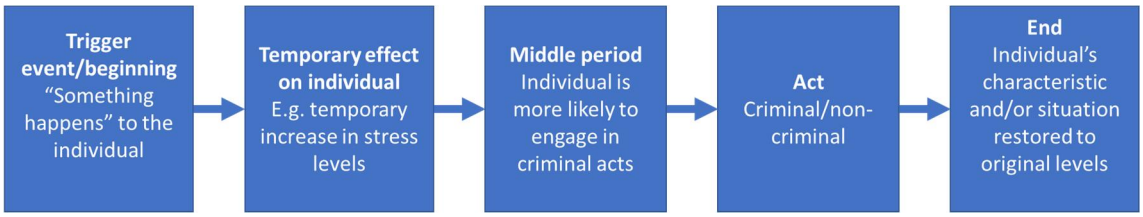


Figure 10 - Structure of storylines within narratives

5.3 The role of environmental criminological theories

Whilst some advancements in criminal investigations have been made as a result of these models, often the relationships between sex offenders' criminal behaviours (e.g., criminal method) and geographic behaviours (e.g., choice of attack location) have not been explored (Beauregard, Proulx, Rossmo, Leclerc, & Allaire, 2007). There is also the assumption that an offender's offending process remains stable, which clearly disregards situational influences on criminal behaviour (Beauregard et al., 2005). RCP (Cornish & Clarke, 1986) and RAT (Cohen & Felson, 1979) principles can be utilised to explore situational factors within the context in which the

narratives are told. Although, Cohen and Felson (1979) paid little attention to explaining motivation of the offender and the behavioural activities that may have brought the offender and victim together in time and space. Few explanations are offered as to why such offenders are motivated or what alternatives actions are available for such a motivation (Meier, 2001). Warr (2001) stated that it was most beneficial to try *"to understand the independent and mutual operation of motivation and opportunity"* (p. 89). Individuals may place themselves within ecological niches which that could increase their exposure to crime, which in turn becomes a way of obtaining basic needs or desires (e.g., sexual expression) at the expense of others (Meier, 2001).

5.4 Aim of the study

A concerted effort has been made by BTP to understand the nature of sexual offending on public transport through initiatives such as RITSI. It has been investigated, however, primarily from the victims' perspectives, and research within the UK has, to date, had limited focused on perpetrators. Due to the gendered nature of SOLT, the focus of existing literature has been predominantly on women and girls as victims (Stringer, 2007). Men are the focus of this study, as they constitute the vast majority of perpetrators of SOLT (Horii & Burgess, 2012). There is a significant gap in knowledge concerning how and why men carry out sexual harassment and sexual assault within the transport context. Research with an offender focus provides a richer understanding of SOLT and helps to develop targeted initiatives such

as advertising campaigns and other means of social influence designed to tackle these behaviours (Gekoski et al., 2015).

A narrative approach has been chosen for its ability to contribute to the creation of a new sense of meaning and significance in respect of research on SOLT (Clandinin & Connelly, 1999). Narrative theory proposes that individuals make sense of their lives by developing a story or narrative with themselves as the central character (Baumeister & Newman, 1994). Study 2 was designed as a collective case study (Stake, 1995)[23], informed by a narrative approach, to further facilitate understanding of the individual's perceptions, opportunities and risk associated with SOLT. Seeking offender perspectives provides understanding and make sense of themselves and their actions as perpetrators (Copes & Vieraitis, 2009).

Study 2 seeks to explore from the offender perspective, how and why sexual offences are committed on London railways to address this gap in knowledge and with the intent of identifying and preventing the commission of sexual offences on London railways. To achieve a depth of understanding, the use of semi-structured interviews to gather data from each participant, provides the balance between the flexibility needed to address the sensitive subject matter whilst enabling the participant to talk freely and in depth about the topic, so that quality of data is obtained (Gillham, 2007). Therefore, the

[23] Collective case studies are similar in nature and description to multiple case studies (Yin, 1993)

purpose of this study is to gain an understanding of offenders' behaviours and the reasons behind it, including personal, social and situational aspects from their own perspectives (Copes & Vieraitis, 2009; Presser, 2009).

> *"The contribution of a narrative inquiry is more often intended to be the creation of a new sense of meaning and significance with respect to the research topic than it is to yield a set of knowledge claims that might incrementally add to knowledge in the field."* (Clandinin & Connelly, 1999, p. 42)

The narrative approach is a post-modern approach to research, which moves away from positivist and empiricist methodological requirements, in the direction of acceptance of researcher involvement and co-construction of story (by considering the researcher role in the asking and responses to questions) in narrative interviews (Stephens & Breheny, 2013). The report headings provide structure and support the reader to navigate the findings in this chapter. There is, however, one divergence from the formal research formats from what would be expected in the academic world, which is the use of the first-person reporting. This was purposeful and consistent with the narrative approach (Clandinin & Connelly, 1999), and is highlighted here so that the reader will be aware of the divergence from the formally anticipated forms of writing and the presentation style within this chapter.

The aim of study 2 was to take an instrumental collective case study approach to focus on understanding SOLT, allowing for comparison within and between cases representing the different offence types (Stake, 1995). The

decision-making of individuals who have engaged in the commission of types of SOLT will be analysed to understand similarities and differences in their decision-making processes. This approach not only provides insights, but it can help to develop and refine theory. Each case within the collective case study will be explored in depth using the narrative approach to scrutinise the context and build a detailed picture of how and why individuals commit SOLT. To a degree, the individuals are not the primary interest for the overall research project, they play a supporting but integral role in understanding the complexity of SOLT. This study will address the 'why' and 'how' of the crime-commission process for SOLT, including how it is influenced by the context within which it is situated.

5.5 Method

5.5.1 Design

This study was designed as a collective instrumental case study, informed by a narrative research approach (Stake, 1995). Semi-structured interviews were undertaken to understand the context in which offenders commit SOLT. Narrative structures provided an organising principle to understand human action and the moral decisions made. A narrative criminological framework was used to structure the qualitative analysis of individual cases, which focused on storytelling and content, identity construction and narrating/making sense of the offence (Presser, 2009).

5.5.2 Participants

BTP records as at 1st September 2017 indicated that there were 150 individuals who had been convicted of a sexual offence on the trains within London in the previous 2 years. Some of these offenders were serving custodial sentences. Within the community, a proportion of these convicted offenders received a sentence that was not under the supervision of probation, i.e. Conditional Discharge. The remaining offenders will have received a community order or are out on license serving a custodial sentence under the supervision of London Community Rehabilitation Companies (CRCs) or the National Probation Service (NPS). There are also a small number of individuals at any one time who entered a guilty plea to a sexual offence on the railways, but who are on bail, awaiting sentencing. For this study, participants were not recruited if they were currently on remand or serving a custodial sentence in prison.

A purposive non-random opportunistic sampling strategy was employed for this study. Criterion sampling was used to identify and select information-rich cases related to the area of interest (Palinkas et al., 2015). Forty-three individuals were identified from the BTP list of offenders as meeting the following criteria: a) Adult over 18, b) convicted of or pleaded guilty to a sexual offence that occurred within London under BTP jurisdiction within the period 1/09/2014 – 31/08/2017. Another criterion was added later requiring that participants had a good command of English, so that an

interpreter was not needed to ensure understanding. Consideration was given to the unique challenges related to language and the need to address the methodological issues surrounding language barriers between researchers and participants more systematically (Squires, 2009).

It was intended that variables designed to mirror the sample population on demographics, such as age and ethnicity would be included, however, this was limited by the characteristics of those who were willing to participate. It was also less important given the focus on individual perspectives sought in the analysis. The five recruited participants were assigned pseudonyms to protect their identity.

5.5.3 Materials

An email was sent to Offender Managers (OMs) (see Appendix N) with an accompanying information sheet (Appendix O) and informed consent form (Appendix P) to provide potential participants information about the study to help with the participant recruitment process. A semi-structured interview schedule (Appendix Q) and a self-report form (Appendix R) were used for the interviews; the schedule was used to guide the interview so that it covered the necessary topics but provided the flexibility for participants to express themselves fully. Question design originated from the literature on the factors implicated in the aetiology of sexual offending reviewed in Chapter 2. A debriefing sheet (Appendix S) was given to participants at the end of the

interview, as a way of concluding their involvement in the research process. A digital recording device was used to record the interviews.

5.5.4 Procedure

An initial email was sent to OMs, who oversaw supervising identified offenders who met the above criteria, asking if they would assist with recruiting offenders to the study. The information sheet regarding the study and consent form was attached to the email. A follow-up email was sent to OMs after 3 weeks if there was no response and a phone call was made 2 weeks later. The responses of all individuals who were approached to take part was recorded and contact was made with those who indicated that they were willing to be interviewed to arrange a time and place. Prior to commencing the interviews, participants were advised of the subject matters that would be covered in the interviews, acknowledging the sensitivity of certain questions. Key aspects of the information sheet with regards to confidentiality, anonymity, right to withdraw were reviewed and participants signed the informed consent form. They were informed that participation is voluntary, and that they could withdraw from the study at any time up to the date indicated on the information sheet, which signified the start of analysis.

All participants were interviewed using the devised semi-structured interview schedule (Appendix Q). Questions in the first part of the interview schedule included *"**D**o you remember seeing or experiencing sexual abuse/violence and or domestic violence whilst you were growing up?"* to

establish the background context in which participants grew up. There were also questions relating to their adult experiences, such as *"do you use pornography?"* and *"do you have sexual fantasies?"* The second half of the interview schedule was focused on events pre-offence, to establish circumstances at the time of the offence, such as *"can you give me a summary of what was happening in your life in the month before the index offence?"*

The next set of questions was designed to recall the circumstances of the index offence for which they were convicted. Some questions were constructed to understand decision-making, such as *"prior to committing the offence, how did you decide where you would carry out the offence?"* Others focused on the instrumental behaviours of the offence, for example, *"what happened during the offence?"* Finally, there were questions to establish how they felt in the aftermath, for example *"can you describe how you felt a few days after the offence?"* Participants were advised that the decision to take part in the study would not have any impact on the supervision of their order. Participants were asked to complete a self-report form regarding demographics, to include educational achievement, work status, income and relationship status (see Appendix R). Information regarding offending history was obtained from the OMs. Participants were then debriefed after taking part and were provided further information about how their participation in this study contributed to the wider research programme. General feedback was provided to OMs as required, if there were any issues to be followed up.

Interviews lasted between 50-90 minutes and were digitally recorded and transcribed verbatim to assist with analysis. A standard orthographic form of transcription was used to transcribe the accounts verbatim, including verbal and non-verbal speech hesitations, such as 'um' and 'er' and pauses which were recorded as '…' (Poplack, 1989). Other repetitive interjections that did not contribute to meaning were omitted. The Jefferson system (Jefferson, 1983) was judged not to be necessary for the proposed method of analysis, primarily because the study of language was a less important aspect of study 2. Transcriptions were also fully redacted to remove any identifiers, see Appendix T for an example transcription in full, in accordance with the ethics section outlined below.

5.5.5 Data analysis

A narrative criminological framework was used to analyse the data transcribed from the interviews. This approach enabled structures to be identified in which the narrator creates the story from a primary experience and interprets the importance of events in clauses and embedded evaluation (Labov & Tannen, 1982). The analysis of people, place and things was made in the context of the here-and-now of crime, which included the transcendent purpose of SOLT (Katz, 1988). This analytic lens allows for a discussion that views people, places and things as part of their narrative history, but also as a process of moving forward (Clandinin & Connelly, 1999). The narrative strategies of interviewees were also analysed paying attention to how the life

story was told, for example whether sections of the story were coherent and connected, or whether the evaluation of events were unrelated or appeared to be avoided (O'Shaughnessy, Dallos, & Gough, 2013). The first section of the analysis is structured under the following sub-headings: storytelling and content, identity construction, and narrating/making sense of the offence. The second part focuses on the key themes across the narratives, considering how these findings contribute to the SOLT script.

5.5.6 Reflexivity

In making the transition from the interview transcriptions to the body of text within this thesis, my researcher experience is interwoven with the experience of studying SOLT within the wider research project. This was achieved by making my position as explicit as possible when interpreting participants' stories. Both "I" and "the researcher" are used interchangeably within this chapter. Using a balance between these forms should achieve a voice and signature within the text, which is written in a way that fulfils the expectations of social science research and constitutes good narrative research text (Clandinin & Connelly, 1999). My experience of what I have brought to this research includes, my understanding of crime as a Chartered Forensic Psychologist, as well as previous research and practitioner experience working with individuals who have committed sexual offences. My work on the

Troubled Families programme[24] may also have shaped my positioning having worked to support individuals who were experiencing an array of difficulties contributing to negative life experiences.

In using several methods across the wider research project, I selected semi-structured interviews to elicit the unique perspective of individuals and the meaning-making of their offending behaviour. Each individual's story about their offending behaviour is regarded as being co-constructed through the telling of the stories to me as the audience during the interview process, and subsequently in my interpretation of meanings within the stories. The intention in this chapter, and through my reflexive engagement with the process, is to be as clear as possible about my contribution to the co-construction. This is a brief reflexive overview of study 2; a more detailed reflexive account is presented in Chapter 7.

5.5.7 Ethical considerations

Permission was received from the National Offender Management Service (NOMS) to conduct this study, in addition to the ethical approval granted by Middlesex University Psychology Department Research Ethics Committee (REC) for each of the studies. A process was outlined to gain access to the necessary information held by BTP of the offenders fulfilling the study criteria, which was passed on securely to the London CRCs and NPS

[24] https://researchbriefings.parliament.uk/ResearchBriefing/Summary/CBP-7585

gatekeepers. Gatekeepers produced a list of matched offenders under their supervision with corresponding OMs and relevant details. The written agreement between BTP and myself, clearly outlined the way in which BTP data for this project should be shared and stored confidentially, as described in the data security and management section in chapter 3. I took all the necessary steps to adhere to the agreement.

Consideration was given to my own safety as the researcher conducting the interviews. I arranged for the interviews to be held within the relevant probation offices in appropriate rooms, that have been risk assessed and have the necessary safety equipment, such as panic alarms. I am a Chartered Forensic Psychologist and a member of the Division of Forensic Psychology (DFP), as well as being a registered HCPC practitioner. I had access to group supervision via the university Psychology Department, as well as debriefing with my supervisory team. I have previous experience of interviewing men convicted of sexual offending and am resilient at dealing with the content of interviews related to sexual offending. I was clear in my duty to both participants and others should a disclosure be made concerning a safeguarding risk, which I would report to the relevant probation officer. During interviews, I was alert to participants becoming distressed and conducted the interviews at the interviewee's pace. Finally, no form of therapy was offered to participants during the interviews although access to therapy via the Probation Services provision was offered as part of the debriefing.

5.6 Findings – Individual narratives

Forty-four individuals were identified as meeting the criteria, as outlined in the procedure section above and their Offender Managers were contacted to offer them the opportunity to participate in this study. Nine individuals did not respond. Twenty-one individuals were subsequently identified as not suitable by their OMs, Table 4 provides the reasons for their unsuitability.

Table 4 - Reasons for individuals not being suitable to take part in the study

Reason for unsuitability	Number of individuals
AWOL/not engaging with community order	5
In custody	4
Deported	3
Interpreter required	3
Mental health difficulties	2
Not supervised on a community order	1
Transferred out of the London area	1
Order ending in a month	1
No sexual offences recorded	1

In addition, eight individuals declined to take part in study 2. Reasons given included: denying the offending behaviour; having anxiety about someone else

knowing about the conviction; concerns about how taking part could affect his career and character; not wanting to discuss the offence due to shame/embarrassment; and mental health issues. One person agreed but withdrew because of embarrassment and feeling the situation might be stressful. Five individuals agreed to participate, see their demographic information in Table 5 and interviews were scheduled at probation offices.

Findings presented in chapter 4, identified the main sexual offending behaviours on the London train network, as detected by the proactive police officers. These behaviours were; 'touching' and 'grinding', which fall under the Sexual Assault category; 'masturbating' and 'upskirting', which were offences under the Committing an Act Outraging Public Decency category and 'exposing' which was an Exposure offence. I selected one interview as a representation from each of these three offence categories for a full detailed analysis, and inclusion in the first part of the analysis section within this chapter. The three analyses in this section are for Dave, Peter and Neil. The analysis in the second part draws on the full analysis of the remaining two interviews (Ben and James), which can be found in Appendix U. The inclusion of these latter narratives exemplified the broader analysis, demonstrating how individuals talked about their offences, described themselves and what the narratives revealed in relation to constructing their identities. All five narratives are considered in the analysis of themes section,

Table 5 - Participants' demographic details[25]

Participant	Age	Ethnicity	Offence	Sentence	Time since sentence	Previous offences	Socio-economic status	Living status	Relationship status	Children
Dave	54	Black - Caribbean	Sexual Assault	20mths imprisonment	15mths	Yes	<£30,000	Living with parents	Single	Yes
James	35	White - British	Upskirting	12mths imprisonment suspended for 24mths	10mths	No	<£45,000	Renting	Long-term exclusive relationship	Yes
Peter	62	White - British	Upskirting	16mths imprisonment suspended for 24mths	9mths	No	<£60,000	Home owner	Complicated	No
Ben	56	White - British	Upskirting	18wks imprisonment suspended for 24mths	11mths	No	>£60,000	Home owner	Married	Yes
Neil	47	White – Other	Exposure	16wks imprisonment suspended for 24mths	11mths	No	<£30,000	Renting	Single	No

[25] Pseudonyms are used for the individuals who took part in this study.

to look at the different offences, exploring the complexity of individuals, emphasising commonalities and highlighting divergences between the narratives.

5.6.1 Narrative 1 -Dave (Sexual Assault)

Dave is a 56-year-old Black Caribbean man with a substantial history of previous convictions (23 convictions for 37 offences). Most of these offences related to theft, although some included violent offences. Dave's first conviction was at age 14 and he spent some time in prison before the age of 18, as well as spending numerous periods in prison as a young adult. He is currently on licence for a 20-month custodial sentence. Dave pleaded guilty to a Breach of Sexual Offence Prevention Order (SOPO) having previously been convicted of three counts of Sexual Assault On A Female Aged 13 And Over No Penetration (E28). These incidents involved the touching of females and rubbing his groin area against them, whilst on a tube train. He is currently employed and living with his mother. He is not currently in a relationship. The meeting took place in a probation room, where he would normally meet with his probation officer.

Storytelling and content

To begin the interview, I asked the question, *"really generally, going way back to get some context for you, how would you describe your childhood?"* This was to give license to the narrator to choose which childhood story to

tell. Dave opens his story with a description of his childhood which highlights the contrast between good and bad experiences.

> *"Um...it was erm, between heaven and hell because it was heaven in the fact that I grew up in the West Indies, but it was hell because I accidentally shot my brother I nearly killed him as a child. And I think that had a lot to do with my life, even now it still has an effect on me."* (Lines 6-8)

As the narrator, Dave employed an element of shock, providing a compelling opening line that had the effect of holding the audience - or in this case - my attention and disrupting initial expectations. I expected that there might be trauma or abuse disclosed, however, the presented situation fell outside the parameters of the usual adverse child experiences (ACEs) that are both documented within the literature and that I have worked with as a practitioner. This disruption to my initial expectations influenced how the interview progressed, as there was a sense that from the outset, Dave was taking control of what would be presented and how his story would be told. I was also aware that at this point in the interview, I felt slightly sympathetic towards Dave following his revelation.

Within the opening line, the tension between good and bad, positive and negative experience is introduced. The polarisation of good and bad is a feature of storytelling more generally but presented with the terminology of *"heaven"* and "*hell"*, it can also be considered as having explicit religious connotations. In addition to the religious backdrop, the nature of good and

bad is recurrent through the telling of his story, with the use of the good-or-bad dichotomy to categorize events, people and decisions in his life.

From the beginning, Dave tells me about an event that took place in his childhood, which has had lifelong effects on him. In the extract below, Dave described how the tragic event of him accidentally shooting his brother took place.

> *"I think I was about 8 or 9. My dad was basically a lawyer and he was in the army in England Royal Air Force, so obviously guns was part of their thing you know he had a rifle, a colt 45, I think a mac something, what was it a mac 9 or whatever it was, so him and my mum went out and my brother was laying on their bed and the gun was in the corner and basically it wasn't on the safety catch, or anything, so it was my dad's fault as well, even though I blame myself, and I'd slammed the door and the gun is sort of falling and I sort of grabbed it playing "I'm going to shoot you". Then I shot my brother."* (Lines 12-18)

The use of the word *"army"* when referring to the RAF, may raise questions about the legitimacy or accuracy of Dave's account, on the basis that it would be more common for military families to say *"forces"*. This unusual phrasing could be a factor of cultural differences, or it could be indicative of an alternative explanation that his dad was not in the RAF, but that there were guns within his home. Whether or not the story provided is wholly accurate is largely irrelevant, as the content of this extract appears to be formed with the desire of eliciting sympathy from the researcher, for the narrator's part in the events that transpired. The story could be functioning as an excuse, an

explanation for his behaviour, a way of eliciting sympathy or potentially it serves all those functions collectively throughout his life story.

In summarising his childhood and time growing up, Dave described that both of his parents were clearly present in his childhood, psychologically as well as physically, but that they could not control him, or at least he felt that they could not. He stated that *"maybe mum"* was important in his life, however the quality and type of attachment that he formed with them is unclear. It may be that attachment difficulties raise vulnerability factors for Dave.

> *"So, I wasn't easy I think they had to tread lightly around me really, they sort of spoilt me because of it in a way because, yeah, um... from what I remember yeah, I would say they spoilt me, especially my mum, my dad is well they both spoilt me really. I was, there was five children and I was basically the one that could get away with anything."* (Lines 54-58)

This appraisal of the situation seems at odds with what might have been expected, namely that the child who had almost been killed would have been more likely to be the one getting spoilt. Dave repeatedly used the word *"basically"* suggesting that his statements summarise the most important aspects of his behaviour, or give a roughly accurate account, of a more complex situation. This linguistic tool was also used by him for emphasis when he was stating an opinion,

> *"I mean basically after this incident my dad and my family couldn't discipline me really."* (Lines 45-6)

For Dave, his accounts about his childhood tell a story about growing up with a sense of power, a lack of boundaries and conveying a feeling of invincibility, resulting from the significant event involving his brother.

Identity construction

When prompted to continue with the account of other memorable events since childhood, Dave leaves out a considerable portion of his adolescent and early adulthood years to talk about the events leading up to the current offence. Within the narrative presented, Dave selectively sequences and organises the events, and claims multiple identities in his life. These seem to be with the purpose of providing the 'moral' or 'valued endpoint' of the story. For example, when asked about whether he had committed any other offences Dave responded:

> *No, not really, no, not really, no. When I was young, but no not since I've been a certain age. I mean with this I don't know why I got caught up with this because now and I think about it, I'm, I'm thinking is that, was that really me because anyone that knows me, knows "ah he's sort of let's everyone on if there's, if he goes to the bus, yeah he let the woman on the bus, you know he's", I don't touch people, I don't go near people like that."* (Lines 168-72)

The narrative provided by Dave in relation to his previous offending, minimises his extensive offending history between his late teens until his forties, and instead, provides an account of someone who is a thoughtful, law

abiding person who wouldn't ordinarily engage in offending behaviour. In the above extract, Dave also specifically distances himself from the index offence.

The process, known as 'emplotment', enables the narrator to retrospectively give meaning to a succession of events and actions (DeGloma, 2014). The selection of some memories at the expense of others may be to enlighten themselves and others to gain understanding of how their past experiences relate to present circumstances and self-identities (McAdams, 2001). This is demonstrated in the extract below:

SAR:

Yeah, so what other memorable things have happened since then?

Dave:

I think with this offence you know I mean, I got arrested when I was in my 40s for this offence. Basically, I think a lot of it was depression because I had a long relationship which basically didn't work out, I had three children, but it didn't work out and then I ended up with someone else and that didn't work out and then I ended up with someone else and that didn't work out. So, I've been in three different relationships, twice married and then end up homeless every single time as well, and it's sort of like I think, and then my older sister, my nephew hanged himself, so I think that had a lot to do with it as well. I don't know, just bad things going on in the family. And my niece also killed herself when she was 24, so I think, I just, I don't know it just kept spiralling out-of-control, I'm thinking, you know, that I don't care about life anymore, sort of thing." (Lines 75-87)

Within the narrative, information is presented in an interpersonal context, relating to the sequence of emotions that correspond with an unfolding series of events. This description positions Dave as a victim of circumstances, to the extent that there is the suggestion that he might have considered suicide too. His positioning is situated in the context of the considerable trauma within the family, with his niece and nephew taking their own lives. He described each affect-event, as if it is along an imaginary line that accrues to the first episode of the sexual offending on trains (Singer, 2004).

For Dave, this imaginary line led *"downhill"*, as during the offending period he described being at a low point, characterised by accounts of instability, isolation, addiction and low self-worth, whereas, his present narrative is constructed by positive actions which contrasts with his previous identity.

> *"Now, I'm so focused I know exactly what I want, I know where, what I'm doing at all times. I basically, you know it's like, that person's not me, it's like that how it feels like now, it feels like that's not me like I'm a different person."* (Lines 126-8)

The above quote suggests the end of one story and the beginning of another. Being caught may have been a critical event for Dave, which could be considered as life changing event. NA enables the uncovering and revealing of the profound effect on an individual of the unplanned and unanticipated nature of being caught for committing SOLT (Webster & Mertova, 2007). By

this point in the narrative, Dave has constructed his identities chronologically and episodically through periodization, presenting his current identities by distinguishing them from their past actions and identities (Zerubavel, 1998). This new narrative of wishing he could *"get a new identity"* and portraying a new persona became more frequent as the story unfolded.

The accumulating knowledge that emerged from Dave's reasoning, generated a life story schema that provides causal, temporal, intimate and thematic coherence to his overall sense of identity (Bluck & Habermas, 2001; Habermas & Bluck, 2000). He situates his childhood as being an influence on his adult behaviour, which he sees as being 'in the moment' and not as bad as it could be, whilst describing the emergence of a new person since being caught. However, the sociocultural context will have shaped how Dave fashioned his narratives from 'raw' experiences and the subsequent meaning he created (Singer, 2004). For example, this is seen in Dave's narrative about his experiences of violence in his relationships with women.

> *"I think with my first wife there wasn't no violence but there was, um, verbal at the later stages of our relationship, but no physical violence no……my third one there was a little bit of violence, but it was a two-way street, so she was violent to me as well."* (Lines 134-5; 137-8)

The above extract suggests there was a degree of minimising the verbal and physical violence that occurred in Dave's previous relationships. On the one hand, he could be justifying retaliating in kind with his third wife. On the

other hand, his actions may be in line with his perceived social norms which perpetuate the view that violence against women is acceptable or at least unremarkable. The latter was likely to be reinforced by the notion that the forms of violence experienced by women are frequently hidden, socially sanctioned, and not recognised or adequately addressed by the institutions that should respond (García-Moreno et al., 2015). Cultural norms of gender inequality and social hierarchies perpetrate and promote violence against women, which would have been relevant in the context that he was talking to a woman about being violent to women and having them being violent to him. I wondered whether he was trying to say to me as a younger woman with a shared ethnicity, that this is simply the hierarchical structure within which he grew up and we exist.

Narrating/making sense of the offence

In exploring Dave's narrative of his sexual offending on the trains, there were numerous justifications and rationalisations in relation to his thoughts and actions at the time of the offence. These included the idea that his need to experience the thrill was superior to the harm caused to someone, as the offence was not as bad as murder and he did not mean any harm.

> *"At the time, it was just a thrill afterwards see now you'd think "ahh that's not so bad, I mean there's people killing people, there's people murdering people, you tried to justify it, that is what I did anyway I don't know about everyone, but I tried to justify it by you know "you're a good looking guy, you don't mean anything you're not a sexually, you're not having sex with*

> *them you're just maybe squeezing them or feeling them on the train", but it's still wrong and it's evil, but at the time you don't see it. You don't see it as evil, you don't see it as sick, you don't see it as wrong, you don't see it as mad you really don't. You just see it as it's just one of them things."* (Lines 338-45)

The final comment *"you just see it as it's just one of them things"*, suggested that Dave maintained a narrative which sees his offending behaviour as trivial. Dave constructed his identity as a being a good, desirable person and not someone who is evil, making a comparison with murderers. Or at least there was an element here about being a good person most of the time but having 'moments of madness'. He acknowledged that he has offended yet maintains the argument that 'offender Dave' was not the real him, and that he is not like the really bad people who murder or rape other people. There is also evidence that Dave's values and beliefs may be underpinned by perpetrator rape myths that suggest attractive guys do not commit sexual assault or that sex offenders are different from ordinary people (Martinez, Wiersma-Mosley, Jozkowski, & Becnel, 2018; Temkin, Gray, & Barrett, 2016), as he states he is *"a good looking guy"*. These minimisation and justification strategies help to distance himself from his offending and from those who commit other types of sexual offences.

Dave's rationale appears to be embedded in the social norms that condone many forms of violence against women, and male control over women. This supports the notion introduced by Kelly (1988), that violence

against women should not necessarily be considered as deviant and episodic, but that it is often normative and functional for those who perpetrate these behaviours. These social norms interacting with cognitive distortions, facilitate the lack of victim empathy Dave displayed towards women at the time of his offending. He gave the justification (Lines 380-1) *"that's alright, no-one cares, who cares?"* He also described not giving *"a damn about that person"* (Line 394). Dave highlighted a further justification that involved denial of injury and allowed him to maintain his offending behaviour (Sykes & Matza, 1957). His justification related to victims not speaking up and alerting others about his behaviours as a perpetrator of sexual assault of this nature.

> *"She basically said I got on the train behind her and sexually abused her, like I had an erection and I was pressed up against her and then I got off the train and then I got on another train next to her and she was, but the thing is what I think was stupid when she got off the train she was standing next to some building site workers about 7 men, train guard blah blah blah, I'm standing there, why didn't she say to them that guy's picking on me? She didn't. So again, it made me think, mmm, people are weird because why would you, if someone sexually abuses you and you get away from them and you've got the opportunity to tell the train guard who's standing there I'm as businessman it's a work hour, there's so many people there why would you not say something to someone? "oi, that guy's just sexually abused me. Do you think I would go and sexually abuse them again? No, you'd be looking to get the hell out of there, but she didn't, she said I got back on the train sexually abused her blah blah blah blah blah."* (Lines 550-61)

Not only did his interpretation of a victim not speaking out seem to be a post-hoc justification, but it also seemed to provide the rationale for Dave's decision to follow the victim of the train and continue the sexual assault. This interpretation also simultaneously ignores any potential alternative explanations for her behaviour, such as fear or intimidation. This finding provides greater detail about the nature of the commission of sexual assault, characterised by persistent following when a victim has tried to physically move away and leave the offence location. There is also an element here of external behaviours (of others) negating or at least enabling his own. Towards the end of extract, Dave implied that if he was challenged or others were alerted of his behaviour, that he would have been "*looking to get the hell out of there"*, which could have important implication for how BTP could consider bystander intervention strategies. Although, this explanation too, could just be another example of minimising or self-justifying behaviour.

Dave's further comments provided an insight into the extent to which he thought about the impact of his offences on his victims, at the time of his offences.

> *"It's funny because many women didn't say nothing and that is the truth. Many women I think, some maybe thought, maybe they thought maybe it's a packed train, maybe they didn't even think something was going on or some maybe... I could even go as far as to say maybe some of them liked it because we live in a crazy world and not everybody is 'oi get the hell off of me.'"*
> (Lines 524-8)

This extract illustrated Dave's belief that a victim who fails to respond to being subject to a sexual offence might be enjoying the experience. This assumption is unlikely to be accurate, externalises the behaviour and is associated with the victim-related myth, 'she wanted it or liked it' (Burt, 1991) and is a way in which Dave can justify his own proclivity towards sexual violence and to neutralise opposing norms (Bohner et al., 1998). Despite Dave's admission that victims were possibly "*either embarrassed or maybe they feel ashamed or maybe they feel like they can't say nothing"* (Lines 531-2), he uses the victim-related myth to turn off social prohibitions, and empathy, which would stop him from continuing his offending behaviour. In the above extracts, he senses victims' vulnerabilities and fear from their reluctance to be involved in *"confrontation"* or *"arguments"* with perpetrators. Yet, this foregrounds in the way he talks, the possibility that it was not significant to the victims at the time. Dave concluded that this interpretation of victim responses contributed to individuals like himself believing that they can engage with this type of sexual offending and *"get away with it all the time."*

Throughout his narrative, Dave used the term *"sexual predator"* to describe the habitual way in which men would 'hunt' for their victims. Only in the last third of the interview did he use the term to refer to his own behaviour, which was in stark contrast to his earlier account where he minimises and normalises his behaviour. He also talked about how he would *"fight"* the urge to not sexually offend, *"the more the urge got, the more it got*

stronger and stronger, then you'd go out and you'd have to do it", the addiction was like using drugs.

> *"Most of these people who do these things, they're not thinking about if I get caught this is what's going to happen, this is wrong, this is what could happen, it's just the thrill of what they're doing, it's, it's a buzz. It's like people who drink whiskey, they're not going to go and drink a beer if they love whiskey they're going to keep drinking whiskey, you get what I mean? And so, it's something on that level, the more you do it and the more you get into that thrill of it is the harder and harder it is to stop doing it."* (Lines 431-6)

Again, Dave externalised the behaviour – it was not him it was the addiction of the thrill. Most of the narrative relating to the offending behaviour was delivered in the second person. Dave used 'you' providing an alienated distance from himself as the main protagonist of the story. As the second-person narrator, Dave observed his life from a distance, probably as a way of coping with the guilt and shame of his past behaviour. He found it difficult to talk about his own offending behaviour and this might have been in response to being interviewed by a woman of a younger generation, who was, by outward appearances of the same ethnicity. Dave's difficulties in communicating about his past offending behaviour may also suggest embarrassment and/or lack of acknowledgement that he was the one who has done it. He found it easier to refer to others who carried out the same behaviours, as he provided his appraisal of how others might have committed such offences.

> *"It's the way they look, they look, cos their looking, it's like an animal there looking for a predator, they're weighing up the situation, they're looking at women or if it's a man looking at men or whatever, but they're looking at their individual, they're looking for someone who they can, you know, they've got shifty eyes, their eyes are here their eyes are there and they're basically looking or you may see them walk up the platform, you know, and then we walk back down the platform. looking where to, where do, shall I plot here, shall I plot there?"* (Lines 632-8)

Dave began to provide details regarding some of the decision-making aspects of this type of offending. Whilst much of the extract is third person, Dave made reference to *"and then we walk back down the platform"*, owning the fact that this was behaviour he also engaged in. Dave does not sustain this position, however, reverting to the third person when indicating that individuals would also look *"at the crowd situation"* or *"how packed is the carriage going to be"*, which all contributed to the *"weighing up the situation."* These behaviours were collectively seen as *"a giveaway sign"* by Dave, that an individual is engaging in this type of unusual behaviour because they are *"scouting for prey"*. Decision-making at this stage included: where is the platform most busy? Where is someone I find attractive? Will I be able to use the excuse of *'the train's bloody packed?"*

From a linguistic perspective, Dave established and maintained a unified sense of self by using narrative aids to discuss different parts of a single self, including disowned parts (Linde, 1993).

> *"…and it was quite an easy, you know I can understand why people go down that road, but for someone like me I can't understand why I went down that road because I'm a good looking guy, I know that for a fact, I know I'm a nice guy and I'm a good looking guy, I'm intelligent you know I'm good at maths, I'm good at English, I'm good at, I'm a bricklayer, I'm a painter and decorator, do gardening, I'm quite skilled at so much different things and I'm even in a musician, I'm an artist, I draw."* (Lines 399-404)

Dave emphasised that he is *"good-looking"* and talked about his accomplishments and skills, which again points to the presence of rape myths discussed earlier and/or that he can get relationships if he wants to. However, this is more than just rape myths, it is possibly about validating the self and trying to build self-esteem. It might be the act of achieving self-liking, coming from a place of possible self-hatred and social isolation. The opportunity to reflect created by the narrating process allows Dave to be moral, even when the protagonist is not; by narrating, he can distance himself from his past wrongdoings and moral deviations. Even though the protagonist is vilified, Dave's narration portrays a complex character unfolded over time who also has the potential for further change (Presser, 2009).

Reflecting on his journey to desistence, Dave reverted to religious ideas about the role of God and the forgiveness of sins. Within the narrative, spirituality enabled Dave to look at different perspectives as part of his rehabilitative script. The process of being able to externalise in the telling of his story by incorporating spirituality, may have also helped him to make sense

of the events he is narrating. He described the way in which thinking about his behaviours and how it would make a victim feel is *"how I'm overcoming it."* There is a sense to me that Dave's narrative about his rehabilitation is an example of 'therapy talk' or showing how he has changed in ways that will resonate to me as a psychologist/researcher (MacMartin & LeBaron, 2007). This is consistent with the concept that Dave narrated stories with multiple plotlines within his story and these multitude of voices are expressed at different points for effect when narrating (Clandinin & Connelly, 1999).

As well as seeing the world differently now, Dave talked about the different strategies he has to deal with any urges that may arise. He described the support he has from family and friends, and personal ways in which he avoids potentially risky situations. The two other protagonists within his narrative are his mum and his sister. On the one hand, his mum represents a constant who has always been there through the good times and the bad. Dave recounted how he was able to live with his mum after his relationship breakdowns and subsequent homelessness. He described feeling the need to apologise to his mother for his offending behaviour, as he felt he owed it to her. On the other hand, his sister represents the shame and guilt of his actions and a reminder of his past wrongdoings, which he described as *"trying to live with that as well"*. Dave elaborated further on the struggles he faced trying to move on from his previous offending behaviour.

> *"Even if it takes me 10 years to become a better person, wouldn't I be better off doing that? And then my family, all those people out there who know of what I've done and who are judging me, what they going to do in 10 years' time when they see that I've not committed any more of these crimes and I'm going down that road where they're all going down, you know, working and looking after my family and my friends and myself, doing what's right, then I've turned things around. And that's my intention."* (Lines 799-804)

The extract illustrated the degree to which it was difficult for Dave to move on from past behaviour, but he shows a commitment to turn things around. He emphasises the importance of proving to others that he is no longer that person who committed those sexual offences.

In concluding his story, Dave used a common plot device in the narrative of desistance, in that he portrays himself very much in control of his current and future life direction (Maruna, 2001). There is a sense that Dave was conscious of his narration, and the social setting in which his story has been told. He sought validation of his redemptive script by asking me whether he would be successful in his commitment to not re-offend. It is as if Dave wanted me to confirm that I understood his narrative and the person he wants to be in the future. Dave ended the story by going full circle to talk about his memories of his time growing up, which contrasts to the complexities that his present life brings.

> *"I could never forget, I could never forget it, you know picking plums and picking fruits and the Jack spanners are biting you, you're getting stung*

and you don't care you're still eating the fruit, that's perfect life." (Lines 833-5)

5.6.2 Narrative 2 -Peter (Upskirting)

Peter is a 62-year-old White British man with no previous convictions registered on PNC. He is serving a 16-month suspended sentence for an offence of Sexual Offences - Committing An Act Outraging Public Decency (E14). This involved filming up women's skirts whilst on the rail network between 2011 and 2016. One hundred and twenty videos were uploaded to a pornographic website. The images were filmed at various locations on London Underground and DLR. Peter was identified as part of a targeted operation. In addition to his sentence, Peter received a programme requirement to attend a sexual offending group for 100 days. Peter is currently retired and living with his wife. The meeting took place in a probation room, where he would normally meet with his probation officer.

Storytelling and content

I asked Peter the background question *"how would you describe your childhood?"* to start the interview. He began with establishing his position in the family and proceeded to give what seemed to be a factual account of his upbringing. Peter indicated that there were attachment issues with his parents, as his father spent long periods away from the family home with work and his mother was emotionally unavailable.

> *"He was away for 6 weeks, 7 weeks at a time. So, my mother worked around the household and always did. She wasn't very emotionally giving to anybody, that I could ever see anyway. So, it was quite an isolated sort of childhood."* (Lines 1451-2)

Peter's narrative describes feeling isolated in his childhood perhaps signposting to me the beginning of emotional difficulties. In the interview he soon established a link to his experience of further emotional problems relating to his temper and experiencing *"rages"*, which coincided with a significant period of ill health. Peter clearly defined that his rages were *"not violent not physically violent to anybody just, erm shouting and stamping."* (Lines 1457-8) Peter explicitly articulated how he perceived his difficulties, which were not due to intellect but were emotionally driven.

> *"I didn't understand a lot of what, not intellectually, intellectually I'm not, I don't have issues, particularly, I'm not stupid, but I was definitely frustrated both emotionally and intellectually."* (Lines 1465-7)

Experiencing problems with self-regulation and the pressure from falling behind at school culminated in Peter being admitted to a psychiatric ward at the age of 12. Peter's narrative includes experiences of ACEs which are likely, although different to the other individuals, to have led to the presence of vulnerability to risk factors that would have a role in later storylines.

Peter's narrative conveys the sense that he was not used to having rules and boundaries in place at home[26], coupled with the added early responsibility of looking after his sibling[27]. He described enduring difficulties with emotional regulation growing up, particularly in the school context. In some instances, Peter was able to show resilience in response to bullying by managing to *"navigate"* his way around and avoid situations. However, Peter reflected that during later adolescence he was *"emotionally quite thin"*, which may have been a combination of dysfunction in his neuropsychological systems and ACEs resulting in susceptibility to clinical risk predictors such as intimacy deficit, impulsivity and poor problem-solving skills (Ward & Beech, 2006). Unlike Dave, Peter does not make links with his childhood and his subsequent offending.

Identity construction

During his narrative, Peter portrayed a characteristic which was important to him and how he saw himself as an individual. Peter's self-characterised inherent desire for fairness is a core value that underpins his perception and guides how he interacts with the world around him.

> *"So, if something was unfair or I felt really unfair then that would trigger me, it probably still would but not in the same way and it leaves me also with a desire to be understood so I get quite pedantic, people would*

[26] See line numbers 1547-1551 in offender transcript
[27] See line numbers 1537-1541 in offender transcript

probably think, sometimes. But I want to make sure or try and make sure that I'm understood." (Lines 1571-4)

This wish for an accurate representation of his story was observed in Peter's detailed manner of storytelling, which was overly concerned with literal accuracy of formality. This was evidence in his description of his emotional difficulties and the way he sees the world, with a clear emphasis on being precise and factually correct. This resonated with me as the researcher, as I was conscious that my analysis and interpretation of data needed aligning with Peter's intended meaning, which I was more aware of it in this instance than in the other interviews. The need to be understood was part of Peter's *"basic make-up"* and linked to him seeing his sense of justice, which acts as a moral compass and can be a trigger for him.

"I got expelled from that at the end because I reacted at the end of an exam, it was a maths exam, maths was always this thing, trigger, and I think they thought I was, cheating I wasn't cheating, I wasn't, I wouldn't be able to cheat but I didn't want to show my working out because it was so little, so I was more ashamed of not being able to do it rather than any kind of cheat." (Lines 1489-93)

Peter says that he was expelled from school for his reaction to being called a cheat. His intentions and actions were misunderstood and led to the wrong interpretations, which caused his frustration and anger.

Peter's narrative inferred that he was a self-starter, and there was a sense of pride about how he built his career, following an unsettled time at secondary school and leaving with no qualifications.

> *"I hadn't had enough school to approach doing things sensibly, but I did lots of other things and became Student Union president of things, did lots of political and social stuff."* (Lines 1500-02)

His narrative picks up the resilience thread, whereby he took opportunities and made the best of a given situation.

> *"I did my night school A-level English Lit over two years, one night a week. Got that and then eventually after selling encyclopaedias for about 6, about 2-3 months actually, I went on a TOPS course, which was the then Conservative government idea for long-term unemployed to retrain people, so you got more than your benefit and you went on a real course and supposedly it would equip you to be able to get a real job afterwards. So, that was it in programming, IBM mainframe programming and it was a brilliant course which was the Foundation of my career thereafter and I didn't look back after that, really…I didn't get a job out of it directly, but I went to college, I went to Wolverhampton Poly, did my HND and when I came out from that I got work and haven't really stopped working apart from, well working for myself, which is still working, since then so that would be 1980s through to now."* (Lines 1504-15)

His storyline from this point onwards, illustrated the degree to which work, and his career is an integral part of identity. The work environment was one that brought Peter structure, purpose and the opportunity to be creative. He was fully invested in his work and this dominates his narrative, which has

limited reference to his personal life. Peter described being *"pretty depressed in my 40s"*, which seemed to be a response to not feeling that he would be able to advance his career in the way he would have liked.

> *"I didn't think I was going to do the kinds of things I thought I should still do, but I got to be in demand again randomly and did a lot of work."* (Lines 1821-2)

The extract showed that Peter was demoralised but appears to have developed a more positive outlook when he *"started to work in interesting companies again."* (Lines 1819-20*)* Working hard for Peter, appeared to be an affirmation of who he wishes to be as a man, and it begins to build a picture of obsessive characteristics that have featured in his storyline to date.

> *"The other kind of obsessional things, habitual things I've done in the past, which includes things like gambling, for a period, when I was on the dole so and you got no money at all so what do you do, you know, gamble and bet on horses, obviously the best thing to do. So, I did that, and I very quickly went through the whole, kind of, complete crash and burn, but once I did crash and burn it didn't bother me at all, I was not interested."* (Lines 1945-9)

This tendency to exhibit excessive characteristics, are later associated with difficulties in his life, e.g. gambling and Peter identified that this *"cycle"* of *"obsessive, kind of habitual"* behaviour can be *"destructive"* for him.

As the main protagonist, Peter reveals little about his interaction with others around him. The interview question *"you've talked a lot about work,*

what about your personal life what was going on there for you?" was used to prompt Peter to provide longer narratives focused on his personal life. Peter's description of his relationship with his wife, described little emotional intimacy and he talked about engaging in the *"odd sexual encounter"* referring to one more substantial relationship, which he called 'an affair' that his wife discovered.

> *"I did have an affair in '99, 2000 which was the only serious thing and my wife discovered that and it became a make or break then. And she says I should have left then. And she's probably right, I probably just refused to move out of fear probably. But anyway, we, we get on fine, we are best friends which it's not like I haven't done terrible things to her, not physically, I mean, but the emotional abuse of all that."* (Lines 1807-12)

Peter seems largely unaware that he may have difficulties in maintaining healthy relationships, but he concedes that he probably stayed in the relationship with his wife due to fear. It is not clear from Peter's account, however, what he was fearful of. Emotional loneliness is a feature of his narrative, which may have stemmed from insecure attachment leading to difficulties establishing intimate relationships with significant others, reflecting a possible dysfunction of his motivational/emotional system (Ward et al., 1996).

Aspects of Peter's identity appear to be relatively stable over the duration of his narrative. There was less of an apparent before and after offence identity construction than there was with Dave. Peter described

having greater self-awareness since attending the Horizon offending behaviour programme[28], as part of his community order. Being more aware of his state of mind now enables him to be alert to potential triggers, so that he can self-regulate his behaviour more effectively.

> *"I'm doing this Horizon course, which is not therapy, is a key thing for me is to recognise when I get into the unfulfilled boredom, kind of, cycle and when things which I wouldn't normally think of as being something interesting to do, that I just don't go off and do that, whatever it is, cos anything can become destructive after, if done to excess."* (Lines 1966-70)

Peter's observation that the Horizon's course he had attended was intervention and not therapy, made further reference to his concerns about his perceived intellectual capacity and not being *"stupid"*. This extract was also an example of narrative as a shaper of experience (Presser, 2009), as Peter enlightened us about how the kind of compulsive behaviours mentioned earlier influenced his past behaviour, whilst also identifying what is different about his current and intended future behaviour.

Narrating/making sense of the offence

The narrative constructed by Peter in relation to his offending behaviour, was presented as though the processes he followed were comprehensible and related to 'normal acceptable' behaviour.

[28] Horizon – This programme is delivered by HMPPS and is designed for adult males who have been convicted of sexual offences assessed as a medium risk of reconviction. Delivered across nine themed blocks of work, Horizon consists of 30 fixed group sessions and 2 individual sessions with an optional final individual session.

SAR

And so, before this offence that you've been convicted for, were there any other sexual offences that you committed as an adult?

Peter

No. No. What I did came out of an interest I've had for a long time in street photography, so just taking public photographs in a public place completely straight nothing, er, offensive, nothing even prying particularly, but of strangers. And random. So, the transition to that, there is a certain thing about doing things in secret, not being, but doing them in full, so hiding in full view type. So, no one took any notice of me taking photographs, no one took any notice of me when I actually took videos, that I was aware of anyway. And the slide into that, well apart from the boredom which created me just because I'm just sitting on the train every day, not that it happened every day at all. It was a completely chance thing that I got up and my camera it went into a video, you know, just press the button and I thought, "that's interesting," not sexually interesting, just visually, photographically, the randomness of it is interesting. (Lines 1597-1610)

Peter's initial response to the question appears to be a clear attempt to clarify that his offending pathway came from an extension of his creative appreciation of street photography[29]. In saying *"no, no"*, he is clearly distinguishing his circumstances from what he imagines to be the situation for individuals who commit sexual offences and he does not put himself in the

[29] Street photography capture instances of life that reflect a society, conducted for art or enquiry that features unmediated chance encounters and random incidents (Warner, 2012).

same category. However, like the other four narratives, a personal factor created a change in his circumstances.

> *"I was just sad a lot of the time, I wasn't depressed, I don't think. But I wasn't in a good place. So, that was, I'm not saying it's absolutely a cause, but it's a correlation so it happened at the same time."* (Lines 1749-51)

Although Peter did not describe feeling depressed in the same way as he had previously in his life, poor mental well-being and *"a definite lack of fulfilment"* about what he was doing at work are given as the trigger for lower levels of self-control and the thrill of the behaviour became the focus.

Peter constructed a narrative which suggested that with the awareness that he was being ignored, he may have kept pushing at boundaries until someone noticed what he was doing – seeing how far he could go before getting caught. Perhaps it was the thrill of not being caught that maintained his offending behaviour. The rationalisation that what he was doing was *"interesting"*, but not *"sexually interesting"* allowed him to fulfil the artistic persona he created as a way of maintaining a positive image of himself. This was furthered by his notion that he would *"publish"* the images for others primarily, craving recognition or even acknowledgement, rather than enjoying any satisfaction from the images for himself. The true nature of street photography is only considered legally permissible if "the photographer is merely sharing information – an image – that was already in plain sight" (Cuador, 2017, p. 239). By taking images that are intrusive and illegal, and

opting to post them on pornographic websites, not art ones, Peter strays from the intended approach in street photography within his narrative. He does not acknowledge this; maybe because he was unaware, or he does not want to be aware.

Peter presented the narrative that he was not able to fully reconcile his understanding of his actions and what drove his behaviour. He revealed that there was an element of bounded or limited rationality, as he did think about some of the risks of his intended behaviour.

> *"I mean, that's all still really quite unresolved other than I'm just following my nose doing things and I'm not totally thinking, at the time that it all happened, that it's even, I'm not saying that it's not wrong, I would say there was probably something still going, "this is not right", but it wasn't necessarily illegal because…, and so the risk went down, the risk was still up because people could still discover it, but the actual outcomes were less than I thought, then it turned out not to be, but that's, that's the fantasy I was in at the time."* (Lines 1616-21)

Peter described how the situational factor of people being able to see what he was doing formed part of his cost/benefits analysis, in conjunction with analysis of whether what he was doing was illegal and the consequences of getting caught. Peter stated that he underestimated the actual outcomes of being caught committing upskirting offences, yet his narrative suggests that he had a greater level of awareness. Confirmation bias may have played a part in Peter's overweighting of information that was aligned with and supported his

belief that his behaviour was not illegal, whilst applying less weight to information that diverges from those beliefs (Nickerson, 1998). Given the brevity of his consideration at the point of initiating an offence, the time pressures of the situation may have played a part in his decision-making.

In the narrative provided by Peter, there was a distinct lack of taking ownership or responsibility for his actions. The storyline for his beginning to offend is portrayed as accidental, whereby Peter lacked agency. This unwillingness to acknowledge agency is conveyed when he stated that *"the whole thing was that I happen to see"*, suggesting that he made no deliberate choices over what was to follow. Reinforced by the rationale that in the main, the images he took were not revealing of the victims nor did his actions contrive to *"trap people"* or require *"hanging around escalators"* to secure the upskirting images. This defence mechanism allowed Peter to justify his actions and view them as less wrong. There was something about his overall lack of empathy or consideration of the impact of his behaviour on others, which was not dissimilar to Dave.

> *"It seemed although wrong on lots of levels because I was doing something nobody was knowing about, I was stealing their private space in a public space, which I understood about that, but that's not much different from doing the same thing in the street except the actual material because I never did it in the street."* (Lines 1630-34)

It is unclear from this extract as to whether Peter belies his initial explanation of escalation, in that he never even considered taking pictures like this in the

street. This may have been because he knew that *"stealing their private space"* is not what is supposed to happen in street photography. Peter explains his offending behaviours in a seemingly rational or logical manner, which is entwined in the perceived artistic form that he saw was evidenced in the *"25000, 50000, 100000, 400000"* views he received for posting images online. Peter demonstrated a low level of self-awareness and self-reflection in his narrative identity, which contributed to his inaccurate insight into his true motivations in these situations (Kristjánsson, 2010). He makes the self-deluding assertion that he is taking the images in the name of art, yet chose to post them on pornographic sites, not art ones.

In relation to how offences were carried out, Peter was explicit in his intentions and decision-making in relation to committing the sexual offences, as he continued:

> *"And then the use of it, and you had this whole spectrum of people who seemed to be interested in it and you can only go on what people comment, but it seemed to be, erm, apart from those who were interested in obscure type things anyway, who were always disappointed, mostly disappointed, and I'd make these quite long they would be like 7 minutes long of like an Andy Warhol, fixed camera seeing the same thing over and over again, nothing changes accept it could change at any point."* (Lines 1634-9)

Peter appeared to identify the element of secrecy as a driver for his behaviour, again misappropriating the notion of street photography for the commission of his sexual offences. A further prompt was made to elicit the decision-

making process of how he would commit the offences. There was a greater level of pre-planning apparent in Peter's narrative, however, this interacted with a degree of opportunity.

> *SAR*
>
> *Could you describe kind of the setup of how you did it to get those 7 minutes, where might you position yourself?*
>
> *Peter*
>
> *So, I wouldn't go to any particular seat I would just get on a seat and it could be someone random opposite and erm, sometimes I would go with an idea of where if, if it presents itself then I would set it up, I would start taking videos or otherwise it was just completely random why I started doing it. I got some software for the phone, not this particular phone but for a phone, which essentially makes it inert when you're taking videos.*
>
> *SAR*
>
> *Makes it a...*
>
> *Peter*
>
> *Inert, so you don't see anything, you don't hear anything* (Lines 1640-52)

Within this extract, the "it" Peter referred to was the opportunity to commit the offending behaviour, which triggered his actions, not a particular person.

There was evidence in his description of how he modified his phone to assist his actions going undetected, as well as thinking about where he could go to be more successful. Peter explained that he offended whilst travelling routinely to his place of work and that his decision to commit a sexual offence

might be made before he left his flat to travel to work. He reflected that both individual factors -such as fatigue and situational factors- such as being too crowded, probably contributed to his not sexually offending on his way home. Peter goes on to make it clear that the avoidance of rush hour was deliberate, as his mode of offending required the carriage not to be *"cramped"* and for him to be positioned preferably by the door on the DLR, at the right distance from the victim. Too close would result in poor quality images and increase the risk of being detected, thus temporal and spatial aspects of the environment were crucial with regards to the decisions Peter made in relation to committing upskirting offences.

Dissociation was a key element in Peter's storyline of committing the offences, he described listening to music and not thinking about what he was doing at all.

> *"I would disassociate and not think about it at all and mostly that's why I was listening to music, that's partly to be there but not there, not obvious, not be taking any notice of."* (Lines 1887-8)

Listening to music served as both a distraction from what he was doing and again allow him to be *"switched off"* and refute a sense of agency, as well as being a ploy to go unnoticed and fit in with the environment. This disconnect is seen by Peter as a state of mind experienced by both himself and others in the commute environment, which seems to be a coping strategy for being near others but ignoring them at the same time. Despite this sense of not

being fully engaged with his actions, Peter spoke about being aware of his unaroused physiological state and feeling acceptance of the risk of his offending behaviour.

Although a level of dissociation contributed to his storyline, rationalisations appeared to be the greater influence and were characterised by his thinking about his actions not being *"reputationally destructive"* or that *"nothing too severe might happen."*

> *"I don't think it's arrogance so much as, I suppose it's still very childish, but a feeling of... not immunity, but kind of, it's not going to happen. That's the risk, but the outcome, 'nah, that's not going to happen.'"* (Lines 1909-11)

This extract may be constructed as a way of Peter wanting to gain sympathy from me, as not to be regarded as being arrogant. Or it may be him minimising the risk or *"the outcome"* of him losing his job, if he were to be caught. This suggests that Peter's estimate of the likelihood of being caught was inaccurate, thus, he relied on flawed information when making his decision to offend. This would be potentially damaging to his self-identity and contradicts his childlike ego-centric perspective presented in his earlier narrative.

The *"total shock"* and *"everything disappearing in a second"* was used by Peter to describe the impact and loss he experienced because of his offending. For Peter the *"legal result"* was irrelevant, it was the more personal consequences that had the greatest impact.

> *"It's the complete exposure, not just the fact that people would know, but people would know about me and that's, and so the kernel inside me that's a very, it's like having that ripped open and was really difficult."* (Lines (1926-28)

This understanding of *"all the consequences being far more true"*, unlocked the possibility of coming to terms with his actions and engage with the intervention offered to support a new narrative. Peter reported now being able to recognise the triggers for his vulnerability factors, for example, experiencing *"unfulfilled boredom"* and seeking a thrill like Dave, or becoming interested in things that he normally would not think of. Greater self-awareness was a key component of Peter's current and future narrative and he feels equipped with some *"tools"* that can help him to manage situations.

> *"So, there is mindfulness which is great, which I try and get back to which I had from time to time, but there's watchfulness as well, which is watching me and my behaviour and how I behave with other people and how I'm feeling about myself."* (Lines 1984-7)

Peter came to this conclusion through a process of taking the content of the intervention programme he attended and translating it *"into something that made sense to me"*, which is now incorporated in his narrative.

Of note in Peter's narrative was the reluctance to accept any sexual gratification he experienced, as part of his sexual offending behaviour, as well as a lack of victim empathy. Peter asserted that fantasies did not impel his

own sexual gratification and maintained throughout his narrative that there was a *"non-sexual"* drive to his behaviour.

> *"The initial setup of me doing something in public, privately that, that's definitely the main thing which kept driving it and then the response of actually publishing it and getting that kind of gratification without it being sexual because it never actually was for me, there were some things which were kind of titillating but they weren't kind of, they wouldn't be enough for me to want to do it for myself."* (Lines 1685-9)

Whilst this presented evidence that the motivation was extrinsic, Peter later concedes that *"even if it wasn't explicit"*, there was obviously a sexual element inherent in his offending behaviour. Peter was able to justify to himself that it was *"an abuse of personal space but it's not a sexual abuse in the sense of I'm not attacking anybody."* He expressed a total lack of regard for the victim throughout the narrative. Towards the end of the interview, I specifically asked whether Peter had given any consideration to the people that he filmed. Peter responded, *"this is going to sound really bad, but no but that's exactly the same as anyone taking a photograph of anybody else but they don't know in the street."* (Lines 2040-1) Peter holds on to the belief that he has not harmed the women he has filmed, even though he acknowledged that it sounds irrational. This reiterates the earlier point made about the lack of empathy and consideration of how his victims may have been impacted by his behaviour.

The above rationalisation contained within the narrative appeared to be central to Peter's understanding of his behaviour. The denial of harm caused

to the victims of his offences helped self-preservation as the main protagonist of the narrative. Peter demonstrated this awareness when I probed him further about the lack of victim empathy in the closing dialogue within the interview.

> *SAR*
>
> *And what did you consider?*
>
> *Peter*
>
> *What would they think if they saw it? and then I gave myself yes stupid rationalization of, "well if they saw it they're going to see it in the context that in which everybody else sees it.*
>
> *SAR*
>
> *Which is?*
>
> *Peter*
>
> *In a sexual context and that's what they're also looking for, so it doesn't mean it wouldn't be shocking, possibly means that it wouldn't be, and there's complete rationalisation which is wrong, but yes, that's the kind of stories tell yourself to justify.* (Lines 2056-66)

In this final commentary, Peter seemed to suggest that victims of his offences would only see the images if they went looking on porn sites. His comments implied that if victims were to see them in this context then it is not an issue because they were looking at it for their own sexual gratification. This enabling justification further negated his perception of the harm caused to the

victims of his offences, which is likely to have contributed to his continued decision to offend.

5.6.3 Narrative 3 -Neil (Exposure)

Neil is a 48-year-old White Northern European man who had no previous convictions registered on PNC. He was given a 16-week imprisonment sentence, suspended for 24 months, for three counts of Exposure (E41). This involved exposure and masturbation on London Underground trains in front of witnesses. In addition to his sentence, Neil received a programme requirement to attend a sexual offending group for 100 days. Neil is currently in full-time employment and is living on his own in shared accommodation. He recently completed an undergraduate degree in psychology. English was not Neil's first language; however, the interview took place in English without an interpreter. The meeting was held in a probation room, where he would normally meet with his probation officer.

Storytelling and content

I commenced the interview by asking Neil how he would describe his childhood. Neil's response showed that was taken aback by this question.

> *"Wow! It's a real psychological interview [laughs]...[8 secs]. I should have planned for this session."* (Lines 2598-9)

By referring to a *"psychological interview"*, I felt as the researcher that he possibly perceived me to be a clinician and that this perception framed the interactions within the interview. Alternatively, as someone who had studied

psychology, he may have meant that it was a probing research interview. The long pause may have been Neil's consideration of how he wanted to tell his story, what he wished to reveal and the impact he sought to achieve. He continued by mentioning positive aspects of his childhood, but then focused on the negative.

> *"My childhood was ok, peaceful, there was no any disturbing circumstances apart from a very significant fact that from the age of 2 I started to lose my, not friends, important acquaintances or significant family members like my great grandmother."* (Lines 2599-2601)

There was a sense of loss expressed by Neil, which precipitated significant changes in his life, such as moving to a new house and losing members from his extended family. Neil alluded to a period of isolation with his time being primarily with his mother, before his sister was born when he was four. This was another significant change as he recalled his *"mother's attention turn towards her"*, his sister, which challenged his *"tiny god"* status. Neil described his position as being at the centre of the universe within his family; *"everybody was looking at me, everybody is serving me and the world is spinning around me, so I was the middle of the world."* (Lines 2631-2)

This narrative of being 'spoilt' bore a comparison to Dave's, (and isolation with Peter's) and contributed to feelings of an inflated sense of entitlement and power, whereby he felt as though he *"was the boss in my family"*. Despite this positioning, Neil described how the loss of his *"godlike*

feeling" within the family home and continued loss of friendships in school (friends moving away from the area), contributed to developing an introverted personality. Neil's continued portrayal of feeling a sense of loss is pertinent in the narrative, as this may have served the purpose of trying to elicit my sympathy. The storyline described elements of trauma; the death of grandparents and the numerous loss of school friends through moving away, which could be considered adverse childhood experiences.

> *"And this losing thing with my significant others continued after I started my primary school, I created relationships, friendships and they went away."* (Lines 2647-9)

These losses over a short space of time appeared to have impacted on how Neil experienced relationships with family and friends. Neil was explicit about his retrospective analysis of his childhood account, which he stated were *"not memories"* but was more a recollection of information without *"the conscious feeling"*. His reflective approach, and language, is perhaps indicative of his psychology education and experiences of therapy.

I explored whether there was any physical, sexual or domestic violence present when Neil was growing up. He stated that there was no violence but described growing up in an environment where his father would openly appreciate beautiful women.

> *"I saw so many modesty sexual pictures on the wall or wherever. This what's the only thing I can connect to my case from my childhood, any other physical violence, nothing. Nothing, zero."* (Lines 2688-90)

In this extract, Neil begins to make links between his childhood experience to his current situation. He felt that seeing sexual images as he was growing up may be connected to his offences. Neil recalled accessing pornographic magazines with his peers in primary school and starting *"to masturbate at an early age"* (aged 13-14), using his father's playing cards comprising partially nude *"very beautiful women."* Given that this adolescent age could be considered a typical age for men to start masturbating, it is unclear as to why he thinks it was early. Nevertheless, Neil suggested within his storyline that this heightened sexual awareness may have *"started something in my mind."*

Identity construction

Neil was aware that his narrative was based on conscious analysis of his life which started at the age of 15 and has continued as he has transitioned through life. Neil referred to the *"backward analysis"* of his life, which was an extension of his philosophical desire *"in finding reasons of things that are happening around the world"*, as much as addressing *"some strange thing inside of me."* The narrative was often framed in psychological language; Neil referred to an introvert personality being at the core of his identity. In his narrative, he described himself as *"an egomaniac person"* and alluded to the fact that during his childhood he did not experience *"a normal social*

development." Neil stated that his *"abnormal"* behaviour started after he turned 18 in his mind, using the simile *"I was so obsessed like a fanatical collector"* to describe his addictive behaviour in relation to masturbation and fantasies as an adult. Neil described having *"a high sexual drive"* and how sexual behaviour was a key element of his identity.

The notions of *"crazy"* and *"normal"* in relation to Neil's perception of himself, was a recurrent theme in his narrative and was grounded in perceived social norms as well as at an individual level. He mostly used *"crazy"* when he referred to aspects of his sexual behaviour, for example:

> *"I have never had any contact with prostitutes, so maybe it is crazy, and... as I said my continuous relationships around 30 girls. My longest relationship was 7 years, but my shortest as I said it wasn't one-night relationship, my shortest was 1 or 2 weeks and the rest were in between."* (Lines 2873-6)

However, Neil frequently used both *"crazy"* and *"normal"* together to contrast his own individual behaviour in relation to what he perceived as passing the boundaries of acceptable social parameters. For example, Neil talked about using the tube after his bail conditions and explained that the condition that he cannot touch his trousers in a lewd way was dropped.

> *"But it's absolutely normal and obvious so for a normal person it's not too crazy to follow those conditions, so I decided to use the tube."*
>
> (Lines 3111-2)

Neil's extract demonstrated his awareness that his required behaviour to go on the tube without being lewd was not so removed from general expectations and social norms, therefore, unless he was crazy he should be able to comply.

As the protagonist, Neil provided a storyline in which he described having *"emotional based, real relationships"*, yet he later offered that there were suggestions from those around him that his relationships were largely driven by his sexual desires.

> *"I had the kind of feedback either from my actual girlfriend or from someone else trusted of her that I'm too pushy, too strongly driven by sexual motives, and the girls didn't really like that."* (Lines 2866-7)

Neil reasoned that maybe his former partners complied with his wishes *"because of the love or the respect or fear"*. In his narrative, Neil returned to being in a position of power and exerting his influence over others to gain what he wants, indicating social difficulties in maintaining healthy relationships. Neil stated that he *"lost"* his last girlfriend in his home country 12 years ago, however, it is unclear from his narrative as to whether this was due to her passing away or a relationship breakdown. Being single formed part of his identity for the past 11 years, but this posed psychological challenges for him and linked his loneliness to his increased masturbation and fantasy.

Until the point of conviction, Neil's described himself as having an identity that remained relatively unchanged, although he recognised that maybe he should be a more *"outgoing social guy"*. He acknowledged within his

storyline that making that change was not easy because *"you cannot change your personality, it evolves in your childhood"* (Line 2886). Neil's narrative suggested that the opportunity for change came from his psychology studies, as much as from his interaction with the criminal justice system. Neil may have produced this narrative with the intent of making his actions to change seem more virtuous and acceptable to me, especially on an academic level. For example, it was evident to me that Neil was speaking to me as a fellow psychologist when he said:

> *"But er, you know I'm sure, if you are studying something theoretically, it goes into your memory and you can speak about that, but you are not involved automatically from your ideas."* (Lines 2890-2)

This extract felt as though Neil was eliciting a shared understanding of his situation and what was driving his need to change. He also referred to the sexual offending group programme he attends as part of his community order, using the cliché "it's never too late" emphasising the possibility for change.

Narrating/making sense of the offence

The narrative constructed by Neil in relation to his offending behaviour is one of confusion for both himself and the listener.

> *"It's an interesting thing because, I don't know how much you know about my case, but I still don't remember that I committed this, I pleaded guilty because I saw the video tapes."* (Lines 2756-8)

Neil maintained this stance throughout the interview, which I found difficult to accept. Neil's further use of the phrase *"I don't know"* throughout his narrative, felt as though there was a lack of willingness on Neil's part to find plausible responses to his situation. There was a general sense of Neil not wanting to accept the possibility that he had offended in this manner, conveyed through phrases such as *"and accidentally"* and *"it was me apparently"* in relation to not believing that he had committed the offences. The storyline was one of disbelief, despite being provided with *"videos and pictures"* as evidence of his actions, he proposed the possibility that *"officials made me a scapegoat"* in response to the offences. This level of dissociation threads throughout Neil's narrative and is likely to be a response to the reality of his offending. It also calls into question his earlier point about whether or not he could be expected to comply with the conditions. If he does not accept he was lewd in the first instance because he had no memory/control of those initial actions, it could be argued that he is unlikely to be expected to show restraint in his behaviour going forward.

The narrative is characterised by ideas of his offending being *"a fantasy"*, relating to both the content and reality. On the one hand he said, "*imagine in my fantasy it happens a million times, especially when masturbating"* referring to the idea of public exposure being an element of his offending behaviour. Conversely, he proposed that maybe *"it didn't happen like in some*

fantasy movie." Yet, in evaluating the important of fantasies at the time of offending, Neil provided the following explanation.

> *"I think, as I said maybe something psychological released my fantasy into reality, so my fantasy came true, if you know what I mean. I don't remember, and it wasn't conscious."* (Lines 2954-6)

Neil described the influence of his sexual fantasy as being a proximal influence, directly affecting his behaviour (Bartels & Gannon, 2011). Neil's storyline for the occurrence of these events was linked to the presence of triggers such as *"alcohol"* and his *"stress level"* at the time of the offence. His inability to manage his emotions and communicate with others may have resulted in a lack of self-control, which, when combined with his sexual desires, led to him becoming disinhibited and opportunistically seeking out a sexual act as a coping strategy (Ward & Beech, 2006).

Fantasy and masturbation form a central part of his narrative, both in his general life and specific to his offending behaviour. In terms of frequency of fantasising about public exposure whilst masturbating, Neil talked about it happening *"a million times."* He referred to this behaviour being *"absolutely normal"* in his mind.

> *"In my mind, in my fantasy it was kind of normal, pleasure making thing."* (Lines 2758-9)

Within this quote, there appeared to be blurred lines in relation to his perceived reality and fantasies in relation to exposing himself in public. This

also raises the issue as to whether he can tell reality from fantasy, which again becomes problematic for desistance. Furthermore, Neil's fantasies were also maintained through his engagement with pornographic videos.

> *"There was a period when I was searching this kind of thing that guys are masturbating on buses and tubes, so I saw these kind, and these turn me on, so for my introvert personal feeling it was good, so that's why it strengthened my feeling towards this pervert thing."* (Lines 2811-13)

Neil provided some evidence for the link between fantasy and offending behaviour in his storyline around his offending. Furthermore, there is an indication that his sexual fantasies drove his offending behaviour, through the process of normalisation.

Despite the apparent normalisation of Neil's fantasies and the "e*xhibitionist fantastic lifting up feeling*" he experienced, there was the suggestion within his storyline that these intense and persistent interests may also have had a negative effect on him. Neil repeatedly referred to experiencing feelings of confusion, although it is unclear whether this was in relation to his current situation or whether these feelings were also present at the time of his offending. It is unclear as to the level of mental distress experienced by Neil in relation to his strong atypical sexual behaviours. It is beyond the scope of this narrative to determine whether the criteria for a paraphilic disorder were fulfilled, however, sexual fantasies were driving the

paraphilic behaviour, which was a key factor in the commission of his sexual offences.

A key component of Neil's narrative was the externalisation of his actions in relation to the offences, which were potentially a response to trying to understand the strong, intense urges driving his behaviour.

> *"Unconsciously, I don't know, and the alcohol and the stress and I don't know, so I created some calming theory to myself not to be crazy from this because since then I hope it has never happened again"* (Lines 2968-70)

Neil described how he used these rationalisations to deal with his present situation, however, it is unclear as to how these neutralisations were related to his past, and indeed his future behaviours. Connected with the externalisation of his actions was a general sense of a lack of agency over aspects of his life, during the time of his offences. I viewed this as somewhat troubling as his statement, *"I hope it has never happened again"* is indicative that he cannot be sure, which could mean that he is fairly certain that it has happened. Neil recalled that his *"life was like an automatism"* and described his routine as *"I went to work, I went home and started to study."* Neil's narrative suggested that he was not active in the decisions surrounding his actions, almost as if he was just going through the motions of life.

Neil's narrative also included neutralisations in the form of minimising the impact on victims.

> *"Sometimes I justified the... negative explanation of the situation according to my logical fantasies, as I told you, it's not a big problem, nobody was hurt, everybody has the right to turn away."* (Lines 3072-74)

This extract demonstrated how Neil rationalised his actions post offence to explain his behaviour and could be an indication of how he rationalised his behaviour at the time of the offence. Neil's fantasies played a prominent part of his justifications within his narrative, as they appeared to inform his beliefs regarding his actions.

> *"In my fantasies, according to my fantasies, this thing is not a crime, it's not an offence because I didn't do anything, you know what I mean."* (Lines 3042-4)

In his fantasy storyline, Neil maintained that he *"didn't do anything"*, which appeared to be his means of absolving himself from his actions, both in his fantasy and for the purpose of this interview as well. On one hand, this was straightforward minimising because he had not touched anyone other than himself. On the other hand, this was also consistent with his dissociation discussed earlier, and functions as another way of his separating feelings around his behaviours and the offence itself. Furthermore, the repetition of such justifications in the offender's mind through his fantasies, eventually became firm beliefs (not just excuses) that perhaps gave Neil permission to repeat the offence.

> *"So maybe my fantasies is so strong that I confuse reality with this case."* (Lines 3075-6)

These extracts summarise the important role that sexual fantasies played within Neil's offending behaviour narrative and how it contributed to his decision making at the time of the offence.

Another feature of Neil's neutralisations which thread through his narrative was the displacing and diffusing of responsibility for his criminal actions.

> *"So, in my fantasy, I am totally innocent because what I was doing in my fantasy is just like I was scratching my face. If you are watching me, you are watching me it's your responsibility. If you are not watching me it is your responsibility, I didn't harm you, I don't touch you, I didn't have any offensive feeling and intent and, and anything."* (Lines 3044-7)

The extract demonstrated the way Neil projected responsibility for the illegality of his actions onto the victim, reframing responsibility in terms of their choice to respond to what he might have done. These external attributions were offered by Neil, as a way of him seeing his behaviour not as an offence. It is because other people choose to watch him that it becomes an offence (offensive). Neil's narrative supported the belief that if victims chose to look at him exposing himself, it was because they wanted to, which by implication implies that they would gain pleasure from this act. It appeared that his storyline consisted of *"positive justification that 'ok, it's not a big problem"*, which served to maintain his offending behaviour.

Occasionally throughout the narrative, Neil referred to his behaviour as a *"pervert"* thing, which contradicted his narrative that he saw his behaviour as not offensive. By referring to the word *"pervert"*, Neil appeared to be acknowledging that the behaviour was regarded as *"abnormal"* and unacceptable, for example searching on pornography sites for *"guys are masturbating on buses and tubes"*. This distinction may have been for my benefit, to demonstrate that he understood that his behaviour was wrong. It was noted that Neil used these words to refer to his behaviour, they were not a part of his identity construction. However, toward the end of his narrative, Neil described the different actions he took to understand what had happened.

> *"I was thinking about this hypnosis and I started to do meditation and pray to God I went to church, I err, I was searching a lot here and outside."* (Lines 3017-9)

Neil talked about looking externally for solutions apart from attending probation, as well as community influences, at a time where he felt *"extremely low"* and *"depressed."*

In concluding his narrative, Neil's last storyline concerned his transformation in his own thinking. He described the process by which he began to consider victim empathy.

> *"I said, ok, use the tube, face the situation and put yourself into this girl, that girl's shoes watching me doing this, so it's a kind of empathy. I have*

> *never practiced empathy, as I said, I was an introvert, I have never been thinking about what other's feelings, so this is one of the reasons."* (Lines 3113-7)

This extract not only provides the narrative for why his previous offending behaviour occurred, but it provides a storyline for why he might refrain from such behaviour in the future. Neil experienced *"practising this kind of self-therapy"* as a helpful skill and when combined with the realisation of the implications of his offending on his career, was a strong deterrent for reoffending. Neil ended his narrative with the suggestion that it was the lack of empathy that cause of his sexual offending, using a cliché to emphasis the possibility of rehabilitation.

> *"Now at the age of 49*[30]*, I started to feel empathy, it is absolutely crazy but, as the saying says, it's never too late, you know what I mean. If I had felt empathy towards others it would never happen, you know what I mean."* (Lines 3180-2)

5.7 Key themes across the narratives

The focus of the analysis thus far in this chapter has been on how the different types of sexual assaults are committed on London trains, and how the individuals talked about what they had done in relation to the offences. Primarily, this was to address a gap in knowledge and to contribute to the theoretical development of a crime commission model for SOLT. A narrative

[30] Neil was due to celebrate his 49th birthday the following day of the interview.

approach captured the processes, experiences, structures and cognitions involved in SOLT. The body of analysis above included narratives from Dave (sexual assault), Peter (upskirting) and Neil (exposure). Here, the narratives from James and Ben (both of whom committed upskirting offences) are being considered alongside those three as part of an across and within theme comparison. As well as similarities, there was divergence in some areas indicating that homogeneity was not present in this sample of individuals who commit SOLT.

NA adopts the tenet that stories are told and plotted with an implicit function – to hold the attention of the audience (Labov, 1972). In study 2, the narratives were constructed in the context of an interview regarding the sexual offences they had committed, therefore, the storylines had an implicit function. Each narrator offered reasons for their actions to their real, imagined and potential interlocutors, including themselves (Presser, 2009). Social expectations appeared to influence both how individuals presented and came to understand themselves in the context of their offending behaviour. It was relevant that all the interviews took place in probation offices, as this location will have been associated by them with their probation sessions with their OM. Contextual environments have an impact on the narrative recounted. The function of many of the storylines appeared to have been to lay the blame on others, provide an explanation or gain sympathy for their current situation. Individuals who offend are often called upon to provide

explanations and in so doing, to reconcile their multiple selves, which include the bad person that they were, with the good they want to be, going forward (McKendy, 2006). Within this, there may be an element of separating the person from the actions, and of preparing stories of accountability.

Whilst I directed individuals to start talking about their childhood using a generalised opening question, four of the five narrators selected to describe the bad events that occurred during this period. This was unsurprising, given the theory used to explain the development and onset of sexual deviance which suggests that distal factors, such as adverse childhood experiences, are key components of the pathway to sexual offending. Ben was noticeably different in his childhood narrative, although he referred to being *"a mistake"*, he described a *"fairly straightforward"* upbringing with parents that were *"loving and generous."* Despite these more positive assertions, Ben did experience his mother's prolonged illness and eventual loss during late adolescence, which he identified as having a profound impact on his social development, as he *"found it very difficult to relate to other people"*. The other narratives described adverse developmental antecedents in the form of abuse, trauma or lack of emotional warmth, which appeared to develop into the presence of vulnerabilities relating to attachment. With Dave and Neil, there was a question as to whether they had secure attachments, as both recalled being overindulged and without boundaries growing up.

Problems with emotional regulation were described by all individuals except Ben. For Dave and Peter this manifested as ongoing problems relating to self-regulation, while Neil and James appeared to develop sexual coping strategies in response to their difficulties in adolescence. There were examples within the narratives of how individuals experienced emotional deficits and social difficulties, which were risk predictors for sexual offending. Whilst the narratives did not provide explicit evidence of problems in intimacy, which is considered an influential aetiological factor linked to sexual offending (Ward & Hudson, 1998), the accounts demonstrated that the narrators had difficulties within their intimate relationships. The potential poor quality of intimacy in relationships experienced by Dave, James, Peter and Neil, suggested elements of intimate partner violence, coercion within sexual relationships, affairs, and ultimately sexualised coping and sexually abusive behaviour as adults (Grady et al., 2016). From the Integrated Theory of Sex Offending (ITSO) perspective, malfunction of the action control and selection system accounts for both the problems with self-regulation including impulsivity, which featured in many of the offending storylines provided across the narratives (Ward & Beech, 2006).

The storylines also included evidence that there was more deliberate planning involved with SOLT. Deliberate planning may be linked to the pervading theme across all narratives relating to narrators engaging in cognitive distortions that essentially blamed others for their actions.

Rationalisations were observed to be central to Peter and James' explanations of starting to sexually offend, whereby upskirting was an extension of street photography and nobody was harmed. They conveyed a sense of believing that they remained on the right side of the law by viewing upskirting in a creative and artistic light, although in reality they had departed from the permissible boundaries of street photography. Individuals who commit upskirting offences tended to use the excuse that they are not directly harming victims. James, Peter and Ben all maintained that actions were *"different from any other kind of sexual crime in that the victim won't know what happened"* (Ben, lines 2531-2). Neil justified continued exposure as he perceived that the victim could look away, therefore he was not responsible for their actions of seeing his behaviour. Offence supportive beliefs such as the denial of harm to the victim or maintaining that the victim was responsible for their actions, aggregated with how the individuals explained, predicted and interpreted social situations.

Connected to potential cognitive distortions, was the belief that their offending behaviour was considered 'normal' or 'acceptable'. All five individuals at the time of their offending perceived their behaviour to fall within the confines of societal norms, which enabled them to maintain a positive self-image. Rationalisations were embedded in and interacted with social norms such as, the objectification of women, violence against women and male control over women.

> *"It's a current reflection of the objectification of women, of the values women place on themselves, of humans as currency, of gratification over kind of humanity over substance, I think these things are erm, are all at play here, you know, had the technology had been available and shrunk and smaller miniature 40-50 years ago people would have been doing it then."* (James, lines 1351-5)

> *"So, in the end we had to split up, obviously I had a, she had a court order against me because… like the TV, I broke it up, the laptop I broke it up, because I thought I bought that for you and now you're being such a horrible person, so I actually got done for that, but it wasn't violence towards her"* (Dave, lines 147-8; 150-2)

> *"So many time, I had the kind of feedback either from my actual girlfriend or from someone else trusted of her that I'm too pushy, too strongly driven by sexual motives, and the girls didn't really like that… because of the love or the respect or fear, I don't know, they have never told me at once that they don't want it."* (Neil, lines 2865-7; 2869-71)

Rationalisations as a defence mechanism protected the individuals from internalising a deviant identity, so that they did not become overwhelmed with shame which diminishes feelings of self-worth (Maruna, 2004). Dissociation was also a characteristic present during the offending behaviour of Peter and Neil, and is linked to resisting efforts at 'responsibilisation', suggesting they are least likely to persist in criminality (Maruna, 2004). Consistent with the proposition that individuals who can explain their past wrongdoing in terms of external situational factors are better at maintaining a 'normal' identity, the narratives in this study indicated a greater chance of reorienting their lives in

the future (Maruna, 2004). For example, Ben explains the onset of his offending as follows:

> *"I can't remember the first time and what caused it the first time, but that's how it became the activity, and it only took place during really busy period of the network when you're sort of walking very slowly up the staircase because there are so many people."* (Lines 2241-4)

Explaining that the crowded train environment was a contributory factor in his offending behaviour, allows Ben to feel that he can be *"open"* during his interview about his previous offending. He also showed commitment to helping to prevent others from offending in this way.

The mental wellbeing of the individuals throughout their narratives was relevant to their offending behaviour. All individuals experienced mental ill health at various times in their life. There was an indication that both Dave and Neil suffered poor levels of mental wellbeing in early childhood, through loss and trauma. For Peter and James, their deterioration in mental health occurred in late childhood/early adolescence and had a negative impact on his social development during his teens through to young adulthood. Ben experienced difficulties in late adulthood, which were related to situational factors in his life. At the time of his offences, Dave's storyline was dominant with feelings of depression and low self-esteem, which created an environment in which he had little regard for himself, or others. For Peter and Ben, feelings of boredom from work were increasing their stress levels and

affecting their mental wellbeing. Collectively, their states of mind at the time of offending appeared to interact with initiating events, causing a temporary decrease in the individuals' level of self-control and subsequent offending behaviour. James elucidated on life events and what had preceded his offending.

> *"I've been caring for my mum for 2 years, whilst she had cancer. She died. My partner's father in Italy, we went there, he died 4 months later. We got pregnant, we miscarried, my partner left me, I lost my flat, my job, er, car. Erm, drinking, the knife and fork went down, smoking plenty of weed. Erm, and over those, over this period of, let's say 5 years, from 2010 to 2016, I slowly began to let go of the sexual and creative outlet of photographing women as a career or as a real kind of hobby or drive. And my partner, I guess, absorbed the, absorbed either the tension or inspiration from that creative and sexual outlet. And then when she left, I offended."* (James, lines 1025-31)

For James, the personal situational factors combined with other risk factors stemming from his upbringing, resulted in sexual offending behaviours characterised by sexualised coping and low self-control.

There were further examples across the five narratives in relation to how the key themes influence the commission of SOLT and subsequently refined the crime script. The section on contribution to the developing crime script later in this chapter, provides a summary of the key interlinking themes and analysis of how the different factors within offenders' narratives interact with the crime-commission process for SOLT.

5.8 Study limitations

Using a small sample size allowed for in depth analysis that reveals both commonalities and complexities of how the behaviours are uniquely made sense of by individuals. It is the quality of the theoretical inferences that are made from the qualitative data in study 2 that should be the focus. The sections below consider how findings from this study contribute to the overall picture and understanding to inform BTP's knowledge of how SOLT are being committed. The rich depth of information gained from the interviews will inform policing policy on prevention and detection strategies, to have a positive impact on BTP's ability to catch and punish individuals committing SOLT.

There was also the concern that the methods by which information is stored by and retrieved from event-schemata for narratives may impact on accurate recall (Cornish, 1994a). Although some of the individuals reported that they remembered the details of their offence well, this study has been conducted with narrators at some time after their convictions. Future studies could research narratives given at the time of conviction and/or follow-up to see how they are re-constructed following reflection, consequences, etc. The stories were also both influenced and regulated by the particular setting in which they were told, indicating the constructs and related perspectives the individuals brings to the issues at hand (Ioannou, Canter, & Youngs, 2017).

By offering implicit justifications in their narrative account, individuals revealed the storyline they deemed most pertinent to their own understanding of their circumstances. Whilst there was no explicit incentive for taking part in the interviews, there may have been the perception that portraying themselves in a particular way would have a positive outcome for them in some way. This notion was refuted, both within the information sheet given to individuals and again before interviews commenced.

5.9 Contribution to SOLT script

Opportunities to capture the real extent and nature of offending were realised within the narrative of the individuals interviewed. One of the limitations identified from the findings in the previous chapter, was that the development of the preliminary SOLT script did not draw on offender perspectives. The script highlighted that individuals were probably motivated to commit sexual offences prior to entering the transport network, however, the nature of the motivation was unknown. The narrative accounts presented in this chapter, illuminate the manifestation of predictors for the development of potential vulnerability risk factors over time (Ward & Beech, 2006). These contributed to the 'readiness to offend', which individuals brought to the situation (Cornish & Clarke, 2003a). Motivation varied across narratives, however, it was the desire to achieve a thrill, that appears to be the main

driver of the individual's actions, or at least the post hoc rationalisation of those actions.

The 'thrill' or lack of stimulation was discussed by all three individuals as a key motivator for their behaviour, although this differed across individuals. Neil's thrill was enmeshed with sexual fantasies, which together appeared to drive his sexual offending behaviour. Dave's motivation for experiencing the thrill was driven by addictive behaviour, which was also echoed by James and Ben. These individuals described being caught in a vicious circle and being unable to control their desire to experience the thrill, which gave them highs followed by feelings of guilt. Peter's experience of thrill differed from the other individuals, as it was primarily gained from the recognition he received from posting the upskirting images online. The sexual gratification was not directly derived from looking at the images, but from how many people viewed and commented on his work.

James, Dave and Ben, and to some extent Neil, all talked about their 'addiction' to their sexual offending behaviour, which was intricately linked to their vulnerabilities and personal circumstances. There was a sense that even though some may have thought about giving up the lifestyle, they simply lacked the willpower to follow through. The dialogue around the 'thrill' served to maintain offending behaviour across the sexual offences and featured in their risk/cost benefit analysis of going through with the intended behaviour. The analysis of the risks involved in their behaviour seemed minimal for all

five individuals and appeared to be more focused on the legal consequences of being apprehended. It was evident from the narrative from each individual, that the mental calculation assessing the costs and benefits of their offences was a subjective process (Copes & Vieraitis, 2009).

There was also the perception that sexual assaults were easy to get away with, due to the crowded environment. There were differences in the spatial requirements for the different types of sexual offences. Spatial factors contributed to both decisions on whether it where it would be best to commit the offence and appraisal of the risks of being caught. Whilst Dave verified the need for a crowded environment *"during rush hour"*, conversely, Peter explained why he *"avoided rush hour"* because being crowded was not ideal conditions for taking his type of upskirting images (whilst sitting on a train carriage). Ben, on the other hand, chose to take his upskirting images whilst on the stairs during the rush hour, whilst *"it's really, really busy you're bunched together with people… you're so close to people that you're right behind them"*. Thus, the evaluation of spatial factors was pivotal to decision making and varied across and within offence type.

Four out of the five individuals would commit the sexual offences on the commute to and/or from their place of work (Brantingham & Brantingham, 1981). This situation was likely to have occurred as a result of developing an 'awareness space' over time due to their everyday movements through these environments (Brantingham & Brantingham, 1995; Brown &

Moore, 1970), which influenced their decision on where to find suitable targets. Dave described occasions where he would engage in non-routine activity to travel to a potential offence location, but this appeared to be infrequent and the exception. Whilst there was clearly more planning with upskirting offences committed by Peter, due to modifications made on his device, all of the individuals described opportunistic behaviour, whereby they exploited immediate opportunities, especially regardless of planning or principle.

In terms of their actual behaviour during the commission of SOLT, there was variation according to the type of sexual offence being committed. Details concerning the search behaviour of individuals mostly related to Sexual Assault offences. Dave described that this behaviour was pre-determined by the nature of the offence and the victim type being sought. Specifically this study found, as has previous research more generally for sex offenders (Beauregard, Proulx, et al., 2007; Beauregard, Rossmo, & Proulx, 2007), that there is a hunting process involved for Sexual Assault offences which is not necessarily present for other sexual offences. Findings from Dave's interview are consistent with the behaviours observed by the BTP proactive police officer's observations in Chapter 4. Other behaviours such as the use of props, characterised the resources required for upskirting offences, but was less important for other offences. These findings validate the construction of the stages of SOLT model in relation to sexual assault

offences. It became evident that the script model developed would need to include tracks for the different types of SOLT, however, the utility of this should be influenced by the policing implications discussed in the next section.

The behaviour and patterns of offending appeared to be both stable and consistent over a period. Lifestyles that relied on neutralization techniques and perceptions that committing SOLT was relatively risk free, led to the notion of crime being a rational solution to the individual's current life situation (Copes & Vieraitis, 2009). However, all individuals were profoundly affected by the consequences of being caught for their offending behaviour. Their narratives showed not only how unprepared they were for how events would unfold, but how the personal impact of being caught was a driver for having greater self-awareness. For Dave and Neil, this experience contributed to a storyline in which they would have an increased victim awareness, which was linked to their desistence from further offending. Peter on the other hand, demonstrated lower levels of victim empathy. A lack of concern is a risk factor that has been shown to predict sexual recidivism (Mann, Hanson, & Thornton, 2010). The subjective assessment of risks and rewards from the five interviewed gave an indication of how effective policy can be devised in response to this issue.

5.10 Policing implications

The evidence from the findings suggests that the proactive police officers are potentially targeting the right behaviours, in their bid to tackle the problem. The above analysis of offender narratives can be utilised to create crime control interventions and strategies specific to SOLT and those who commit these offences (Clarke & Cornish, 1985). This section presents some policy suggestions for preventative efforts to reduce the occurrence of SOLT based on the narratives of how individuals commit their offences. Drawing on situational crime prevention (SCP) techniques aimed at deterring potential offenders, suggestions focus on removing excuses that are often used by offenders to justify their crime and by altering offenders' perceptions of the consequences of their actions. Additionally, some consideration is given to the nature of interventions designed to rehabilitate individuals convicted of SOLT, with the objective of reducing recidivism rates.

5.10.1 Stimulate conscience

A key approach to SCP programmes is the idea that they counteract the neutralization techniques used by potential offenders. As outlined above, individuals who commit the different types of SOLT develop a number of linguistic devices in the form of neutralisations, that help them make their offences more acceptable to themselves. One component of SCP which is implicit in rational choice theory, is to induce shame and guilt and effectively

'remove excuses' for crime (Clarke & Homel, 1997). Recognising offender perceptions and directing opportunities for prevention toward the manipulation of these psychological motivations, should be at the forefront of SCP strategies (Lee, 2010). This model reflects the understanding of rational offending for sexual harassment offences, as well as more predatory crimes, in which 'ordinary people' as much as 'hardened criminals' may commit such offences (Gabor, 1994). Explicit recognition of the fact that individuals, including offenders, make judgements about the morality of their own behaviour, highlights that rationalisations may be particularly relevant to people responding to everyday temptations to break the law (Clarke, 1997). The act of neutralising the neutralisations, removes the option of individuals being able to define their behaviour as acceptable, and they will, therefore, have a harder time continuing with offending behaviour (Copes & Vieraitis, 2009).

From a SCP perspective, a programme geared towards removing excuses for individuals committing SOLT, should be presented at the time criminal decisions are being made. The notion of this approach is to arouse feelings of conscience at the point at which an individual is contemplating the commission of SOLT (Clarke, 1997). The findings presented above indicate that neutralisations used to justify the different types of SOLT sufficiently blocked the potential inhibiting effects of guilt. Rather than there being a complete absence of guilt, the narratives suggested that the strength of

feelings of guilt were not enough to deter action. A campaign designed to increase the level of guilt experienced by individuals committing SOLT, may, through the situational calculus, reduce the prevalence of this offending behaviour, as suggested for other crimes such as tax invasion and identity fraud (Copes & Vieraitis, 2009; Thurman, St. John, & Riggs, 1984).

For this approach to be impactful, presenting the anti-neutralisation message at the immediate time of the crime is essential, in order to affect the situational calculus made by individuals. Consistent with the current application of behavioural research to policy-making, Thaler and Sunstein (2009) promote 'libertarian paternalism' to design targeted and effective policies. This approach employs tools that use nudges to correct what are perceived as 'errors' in people's choices by altering their choice environment and without restricting their freedom to choose (Thaler & Sunstein, 2009). Although behavioural insights offer a powerful tool to reshape and design new evidence-based policy, an awareness of underlying assumptions on individual behaviours is required to address the potential challenges they pose for design effectiveness (Kuehnhanss, 2019).

Displaying messages that remind individuals that their sexually inappropriate or offending behaviour causes harm to others and will not be tolerated, could be placed at tube and train station entrances or inside of

carriage doors[31]. Similarly, increasing the public's feelings of censure may be achieved by a media campaign in which individuals who commit SOLT are portrayed as morally wrong, while respecting others is portrayed as a moral obligation (Thurman et al., 1984). However, the effectiveness of such a campaign must be perceived by all as a realistic portrayal of both the victims and, more importantly the perpetrators of SOLT. A recent campaign in Paris was rebuked because *"the problem with using animalistic metaphor to represent harassment is that no man will identify with it"* (France24, 2018). It also failed to establish the fact that *"aggressors can be any type of man, not just monsters and animals who are subject to incontrollable impulses"* (France24, 2018). In light of the difficulties with anticipating success of policies, designs allowing systematic empirical evaluation may be effective if sufficient safeguards for legitimacy and accountability are implemented (Kuehnhanss, 2019).

5.10.2 Advertise consequences

Whilst the individuals considered possible lenient punishment if they happened to be caught, this did not always feature strongly in their evaluation of the risks of committing SOLT. Furthermore, for all individuals it was not the legal consequences that had the greatest impact, it was the negative impact on relationships with family and friends, as well as on job and career prospects. Their underestimates of potential consequences likely contributed

[31] Similar to the existing initiatives used on public transport and in the wider domain to remind individuals that abusive behaviour towards staff will not be tolerated.

to their decision to commit SOLT. Therefore, educating potential individuals, who might commit SOLT, about the true consequences of being convicted could persuade them to desist (Copes & Vieraitis, 2009). Whilst there is evidence demonstrating the effectiveness of 'lever-pulling' strategies[32] in reducing homicide and gun violence (Kennedy, 1998; McGarrell, Chermak, Wilson, & Corsaro, 2006), this approach is not feasible for BTP to employ for two reasons. Firstly, whilst BTP may be aware of a small group of persistent offenders, it is not possible to identify an 'at risk' group within the passenger population with which to specifically target this type of intervention. Secondly, this would arguably be too resource intensive for BTP to deliver given the geographic area they cover. An alternative blended strategy of increased law enforcement and mobilising community action may be more appropriate to the routine workings of BTP, given the above limitations.

Research has demonstrated that perceived punishments have a greater deterrent effect than actual punishments (Wright, Caspi, Moffitt, & Paternoster, 2004). Therefore, there is potential merit in changing the perceptions of punishment held by individuals who commit SOLT. BTP have recently developed their online media campaign highlighting cases of individuals who have been convicted of a sexual offence under their jurisdiction. It is anticipated that this sends a clear message that BTP, as a law-

[32] "Lever-pulling" strategies encompass face-to-face communication of deterrence messages with the support of an array agencies, clearly outlining to a small target audience what behaviours will provoke a response and what the response will be.

enforcement agency, considers sexual offences to be a serious crime and will investigate cases, which could change perceptions about these offences (Copes & Vieraitis, 2009). It would be of additional value to include narratives about the legal and, more importantly, the wider consequences for individuals who are convicted of sexual offences. Findings in study 2 point to the impact of the realisation of the full consequences amongst individuals, therefore utilising this aspect in publicity may signify a powerful yet cost-effective tool in crime prevention if implemented well (Johnson & Bowers, 2003).

The strength of this study lies in its contribution of offender perspectives on the explanations for their behaviour, which is useful for SCP efforts (Balemba & Beauregard, 2013). This becomes relevant when seeking to understand the rationalisations, justifications and minimisations offered by offenders, which are likely to be situational rather than dispositional (Maruna & Mann, 2006). A narrative criminological approach binds both the individual and situational factors together to create a detailed picture regarding the nature of and decision-making processes involved in SOLT from offenders' perspectives. Highlighting the central role of narrative in theories, however, does not indicate that the other factors are unimportant, rather, narrative operates in conjunction with other variables (Presser, 2009).

This chapter has provided some further clues to the how and why individuals commit SOLT, including the importance of spatiotemporal factors influencing decision-making. Findings from this study have added value to the

previous iterations of the SOLT scripts, illuminating the background context and pre-offence details. The findings of this chapter have provided the basis for a timeline, which elucidates the stages that link background factors to goal formation. Further details have been developed concerning the analysis of risk, to reflect the strong presence of rationalisations in all the offender's accounts within the SOLT crime script. There was also evidence to challenge the homogeneity of the different offence types regarding aspects of how individuals behave when they are committing to carrying out the offence, providing a richness of information concerning the crime-commission process of SOLT. The aim of the next chapter is use crime data to build on the findings on the previous two studies, to provide further context for the when and where aspects of SOLT events.

Chapter 6 : Using crime data to develop understanding of the role of spatial and temporal factors in SOLT

The purpose of this chapter is to further triangulate the research findings on SOLT, as outlined in the methodology chapter.[33] Quantitative data will be used to test the developing model and crime script generated by qualitative means in the previous two studies. This chapter will examine police crime data, to bring together a more detailed understanding of, Committing an Act Outraging Public Decency and Exposure, as well as Sexual assaults, to link to the findings presented in chapter 4. The chapter begins by reviewing previous research on, and the use of, police data in the context of recording crime on public transport and the reporting of sexual offences. The chapter goes on to outline the methodology used and addresses the methodological challenges that arise from archival data extracted from police databases.

The analysis section is divided into three parts, the first of which is focused on the spatial and temporal characteristics of the offences, using the 3 types of offences (Sexual Assault, Committing an Act Outraging Public Decency and Exposure) as the organising principle. The second section examines the offence characteristics that categorise the different types of sexual behaviours. The third section generates potential models as a starting point to explain the different types of sexual behaviours, which is

[33] Refer to chapter 3

subsequently followed by qualitative examples to further illustrate the findings. The final section of this chapter comprises a more integrative discussion.

The aim of the analysis of police crime data in this chapter is to explore the situational and environmental factors relevant to the crime script for SOLT. The objective is to both synthesise finding and predict future behaviour. The major research questions were as follows:

- What are the relationships between key crime variables (offence type, offence location, geographic location and time of occurrence?
- How are the different types of sexual offences committed on London trains?
- What can BTP statistics tell us about sex offenders on the London trains? Are there differences between individuals who commit the different types SOLT?

The starting point for the exploration of the data was to consider the different offence types (or categories) for SOLT. Offence types were defined using the legal categorisations recorded by BTP, such as Sexual Assault (E28). Further analysis interrogated the offending behaviours that took place during the offence within each category, using additional insight from the recorded case details. Offending behaviours related to the inappropriate sexual behaviours

carried out by individuals, such as toucherism or masturbating. The final focus of analysis was made in relation to offence variables, which were characteristics of the offence, for example the duration of the offence lasting less than a minute or the offender leaving the offence location.

6.1 Introduction

Chapter 2 highlighted that relatively little research exists on sexual assaults on the transport network compared to many other types of sexual offending. Research on transport between the 1950s and 1980s was largely "gender blind", as it failed to recognise or indeed acknowledge the needs and priorities of women (Rivera, 2007). In terms of the reporting of crime on the transport network, early research showed that specific reasons for not reporting included not thinking it is serious enough, the belief that police will do nothing and not wanting to get involved with the police (Bennett & Wiegand, 1994). These limitations are linked to the issue of under-reporting of sexual offences that are considered less serious (Lievore, 2003), which has been constant for decades. Under-reporting was evident for SOLT by the disparities between official figures of recorded crime and figures reported by women (TFL, 2013a), yet these data are important for understanding the nature of these crimes, to generate more accuracy regarding prevalence. This has implications in terms of the resources allocated by BTP and partner agencies to address the problem.

Measuring crime comes with its challenges, despite crime being recorded in England and Wales for more than 150 years. Crime counts of particular offences are routinely submitted to the Home Office by police forces for comparison and statistical analysis. Whilst this process allowed for comparison over time, crime counts became an unrealistic measure of national crime rates, largely due to the crime count figure being provided in isolation to the social and political background (Putwain & Sammons, 2002). Fluctuations in recorded crime can also occur as an outcome of other related issues dominating public discourse. For example, the high profile historic cases of sexual abuse by Jimmy Saville and other celebrities, the Child sexual exploitation (CSE) cases in Rotherham and the sexual assault allegations against Harvey Weinstein and ensuing #MeToo movement are likely to result in increased reporting from victims of sexual offences (ONS, 2018). Increases in reporting are welcomed, to give a truer picture of the extent of the problem, with the condition that the recording of data is accurate and fit for purpose from a policing enforcement perspective.

In 2002, the government proposed initiatives to improve crime recording, with particular reference to the National Crime Recording Standards (NCRS), which transferred to a system of recording crime on the basis of the victim's perception that a crime occurred, rather than a police decision based on obtaining sufficient evidence (Simmons & Dodd, 2003). Thus, USB can be recorded as an offence if the victim reports it, as it is no

longer reliant on police discretion. The Home Office Counting Rules (HOCR) also provide a framework that details the standards for when crimes should be recorded by the police. This measure should reduce the occurrence of reported incidents being 'no crimed', in other words, being omitted from crime statistics because no action was taken.

There is still some room to exercise judgement as to which transgressions are reasonably and appropriately recorded as a crime, and under what category. Whilst BTP does have policies to promote a consistent approach to crime recording, which complies fully with the requirements of NCRS and HOCR, what is reported can still be handled inconsistently in terms of data quality and accurate classification decisions (Fildes & Myhill, 2011). This may be particularly relevant to the recording of SOLT against the Notifiable Offence List (NOL)[34], which will range from the separate coding of all serious sexual offences (e.g. rape or sexual assault by penetration), to the grouping of lesser offences such as voyeurism and exposure (Fildes & Myhill, 2011). This highlights that these processes are underpinned by complex rules which can still allow for different interpretations in the classification and recording of offences (Mayhew, 2014).

[34] Notifiable offences are those which police are required to submit details of to the Home Office under Section 44 of the Police Act 1996. The recording of offences on the Notifiable Offence List (NOL) must comply with the HOCR.

BTP use crime categories which are the same as those used by Home Office forces for recording and reporting crime.[35] Sexual offences fall under the crime category Other Notifiable Offences. BTP have 21 offences listed which fall under the Sexual Offences Act 2003[36]. Committing an Act Outraging Public Decency is a further category that is often used for recording sexual offences. BTP have their own codes for the different offences within the categories, with separate codes used in Scotland. The full list of offences used for BTP sexual offences is provided in Appendix A. Chapter 4 identified that the most prevalent sexual offences perceived by police officers as occurring on London trains were 'touching', 'grinding', 'masturbating', 'upskirting' and 'exposing'.

The offending behaviours outlined above fall under the categories Sexual Assault on a Female aged 13 or over – No Penetration (E28), Committing an Act Outraging Public Decency (E14)[37] and Exposure (E40). These three offences were also the focal point of the narrative of offenders in Chapter 5 and continued as the point of reference for the data analysis in this chapter. The mismatch between the behaviours constituting inappropriate or USBs and what is categorised a sexual offence was introduced in the opening

[35] With the exception of anti–social behaviour.
[36] New offence categories can be expected with the recent legislative changes for upskirting, however, at the time of writing, these offences had not begun to be recorded.
[37] BTP code for Sexual Offences - Committing an Act Outraging Public Decency. These offences are predominantly masturbating and upskirting and will be referred to in this way for the remainder of the chapter. They are grouped together for legislative purposes but are considerably different in many ways, therefore subsequent analyses are undertaken to differentiate masturbating and upskirting behaviours.

chapter of this thesis and becomes relevant again here. The crime categories within the dataset could be problematic or misleading, as a result of potentially quite different types of offending behaviour being grouped together under one crime code. Although the BTP crime categories will be used as the organising principle to explore when and where different offences take place, further steps are outlined in the analysis section below in a bid to strengthen the existing framework.

At the time of this research, BTP had recently implemented recording on the NicheRMS police crime recording management system. Prior to this, various elements of crime data were recorded on three different systems; the National Strategy for Police Information Systems (NSPIS); a single crime recording system (CRiMe); and the HOLMES IT system[38]. The absence of automatic linkage between the NSPIS incident system and CRiMe recording system required the need for multiple manual logging in, resulting in significant 'double keying' and duplicate entries. The introduction of the NicheRMS system seeks to reduce unnecessary bureaucracy and improve data quality. Despite the system led improvements to recording crime data, there is also the need to ensure system users are recording crime details appropriately, with sufficient level of detail to enable effective crime analysis. There has been virtually no empirical work focused on the integrity of police recording over

[38] An information technology system used for the investigation of major incidents such as serial murders and high value frauds.

the past 20 years (Mayhew, 2014). However, a study by the then Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO) highlighted that early recording of incidents as crimes (before officers have undertaken enquiries) has led to erroneous recording and/or inaccurate classification (Fildes & Myhill, 2011).

6.2 Research on SOLT

It is acknowledged that more rigorous research needs to be conducted in relation to prevalence rates of sexual harassment and offending on public transport (Gekoski, Gray, Adler, & Horvath, 2017). It has, however, been demonstrated that up to 1 in 4 females in London have experienced sexual harassment and/or sexual assault on public transport (EVAW, 2012; SPA, 2014; TFL, 2015). From what the literature suggested in Chapter 1 in relation to the reporting of sexual offences, it can be assumed that the prevalence rate in London is greater than it appears from recorded figures, due to the high levels of non-reporting, with over 90% of females not reporting it to the police (TFL, 2015). Findings also suggest that the reporting mediums were strongly related to whether a case was successful or not, with those offences reported (to staff or police) whilst still in the railway environment were more successful (Jones, 2016).

A challenge to researching SOLT arises as a result of the methods through which crime reports are received, which can affect the quality of crime recording. The nature of crime reporting has evolved through

advancing technologies, with texting and social media options being added to the more traditional means of using a telephone or reporting crimes in person to an officer. The RITSI campaign has successfully increased the reporting of USBs to BTP (Solymosi, Cella, & Newton, 2018), During the period 1 July 2016 and 31 January 2018, 29% of this reporting came through via text messages (Crowther, 2018). There are variable levels of detail concerning sexual offences which are texted in, with no avenues to make further contact with the victim or maintain continued communication. Whilst all reported crime can provide useful crime data, the quality relies on those call handlers and police staff who input details on the system. A further challenge to the reliability of police data is the external pressures resulting from a culture of target setting to measure police performance. This inevitably had the effect of less accurate data being recorded, despite the best intentions to have a more consistent, ethical and accurate approach to recording crime (Curtis, 2015).

Crime data can, however, be effectively employed as a means of problem solving and addressing the issue of SOLT. Crime analysis can be used as an analytic tool to generate critical information about patterns of crime and crime-trend correlations pertaining to characteristics of the offenders, victims and crime locations. For example, Beauregard, Proulx, et al. (2007) included the use of police reports to provide insights into the relationships between sex offenders' criminal behaviours (e.g., criminal method) and geographic behaviours (e.g., choice of attack location). Canter

(1996) proposed that crime reports can also provide a sound basis for profiling, such that, *"the idea that offenders differ in their actions when committing a crime and that these differences reflect (and therefore correlate with) overtly available features of the offender"* (p.191). Thus, crime analysis of the data may contribute to the development of specific typologies for individuals committing SOLT, however, it is unclear how variations in offence behaviour can be reliably identified in the absence of knowing who committed them (Canter, 1996).

Given the above limitation, the focus of study 3 is to fill the gap in literature and to build on existing knowledge of SOLT, through the interrogation of BTP crime records. Environmental criminological theory outlined in Chapter 2 of this thesis highlighted the role of environmental factors relating to the surroundings in which crime events take place. Therefore, the aim of this study is to identify patterns in the crime data, considering the temporal and spatial information available to provide an overview of the nature of the sexual offences recorded. This information can then be assimilated into the findings from the previous studies presented in Chapter 4 and 5, to provide richer details of the crime commission process for the different types of SOLT. For example, analysis can identify the different attributes of importance for different crimes types within SOLT, e.g. age group of the victim. The empirical work presented in this chapter was based on two datasets provided by BTP, one detailing recorded sexual offences and

the other listing suspected sexual offenders. The original data provided was not anonymised, however, it was depersonalised and redacted prior to analysis, as outlined in the Data Management section in Chapter 3.

6.2.1 Crime data

The initial dataset provided by BTP analysts in September 2017, included reports of sexual offences that occurred nationally under BTP jurisdiction between April 2013 to March 2017. The dataset captured 6503 sexual offence crimes with 78% (n=5087) occurring in B division, which accounts for Transport for London (TFL), South and East regions. This period was originally selected because it coincided with the period following the launch of Project Guardian, which was the predecessor of RITSI and was an initiative to combat, and increase reporting of, sexual harassment on public transport in London. Due to data quality issues and inconsistency when merging case information from three different systems, the decision was made to only include data from the point at which the NicheRMS system was implemented for the recording of crime. There was also the added desire, from the researcher's perspective, for a full year's dataset to be available for analysis. The period for the dataset reported on in this thesis covered 1st February 2016 to 31st March 2017.

The original dataset, extracted for the purpose of this study, contained all sexual offences reported to BTP nationally. As the focus was to explore sexual offences taking place on the railways within London, cases were

selected on the basis that they were recorded under the B division and against either the Metropolitan or City of London Home Office police force. These inclusion criteria provided a sample (n=1441) of sexual offences that had occurred on trains in the Greater London area for the period 1st February 2016 to 31st March 2017. Each record included the date and time on which the crime occurred, the offence location, a brief description of the offence and victim demographics.

Each crime record includes information about each offence in the form of a free-text description from the victim or witness. Crime details are either recorded by call handlers within BTP, who are the first point of call, for contact made via telephone, texts, emails and Twitter, or BTP officers for crimes which are reported face-to-face. The descriptions ranged in length but were relatively short, limiting what details could be elicited from them. All descriptions are included without editing; therefore, typographical and grammatical errors remain. A typical example of a description was:

> *"Lett[39] victim boarded a busy train and suspect stood very close to victim which made the victim feel uncomfortable. Victim states that suspect was touching her breasts over her clothing with is hand. At one point the train jolted and she fell towards the suspect who then inappropriately grabbed the victim's left arm. Following this the suspect put his arms down and*

[39] Lett is recorded at the beginning of a crime description to denote when a victim's letter is to be sent by BTP to the aggrieved.

was touching the victim's right leg. When the victim alighted, the suspect was staring at her and making her feel very uncomfortable."

All descriptions from the sample were used for the analysis and provided the basis for the refinement of the crime script developed in Chapter 4. The updated version of the script is provided at the end of this chapter.

6.2.2 Offender data

The second principal dataset used as the basis for the analysis in this chapter, provided details on the personal characteristics and offending histories of known sexual offenders. For the purpose of this research, BTP supplied non-anonymous details of every person who had been arrested for sexual offences between 1st February 2016 and 31st March 2017. The criminal records of these offenders were also obtained by BTP analysts from the Police National Computer (PNC), this information together with intelligence information held on the NicheRMS database provided a summary of involvement in previous offending. This dataset was anonymised before the analysis was undertaken. The sample represented the best available source of information about sexual offenders on London railways.

A suspect can be arrested by police officers if they have 'reasonable suspicion' that the individual has committed an offence, for example they match a still photograph taken from CCTV footage. It is possible for a person to be mistakenly identified and arrested and later released with no further

action, which raises questions about the risk of including or excluding cases in this study. One solution would have been to only include offenders if they had been charged or cautioned for a sexual offence. However, given the general problem of under-reporting discussed above, and the high attrition rates due to victims not supporting action or the length of time it takes cases to be heard in court, this would be too restrictive for the purpose of this study. On this basis, all arrested offenders attached to an offence were included to provide a sample of 321 offenders, however, the limitations of this approach are acknowledged.[40]

6.3 Method

6.3.1 Design

A mixed methods approach, using quantitative and qualitative data was utilised in study 3 to contribute to existing literature, by elucidating key characteristics in cases involving SOLT. Case records of reported sexual offences were examined, to include the victim reports of sexual offences, with the intention of examining the elements of when, where and how perpetrators committed SOLT.

6.3.2 Sample

The sample consisted of 1441 sexual offences reported in the London area to BTP over a 13-month period (2016-2017). The dataset also contained

[40] Refer to the ethical considerations section for study 3 in the methodology chapter

a sample of 321 offenders who had been arrested in relation to the reported sexual offences, for the same period. Information was extracted by BTP staff from the NicheRMS system for the purposes of analysis. Initial examination of the data identified numerous additional variables which related to each separate offender in an offence (e.g. ethnicity of offender 1, 2, 3 etc.), however, many of these variables were incomplete and too few in number, these were subsequently excluded from analysis. Variables such as ethnicity and age were recoded for both victims and offender. The age range for the victims was created using the 'visual binning' function in SPSS with similar percentages in each 'binned' category to generate four levels: 0 – 13, 14 – 21, 22 – 34, and 35+. This process was repeated for the offenders' age range to create 4 levels; 0 – 21, 22 – 30, 31 – 44, and 45+. The ethnicity for both victims and offenders were recoded to produce a variable with two levels White and BME. These recoded variables ensured there were sufficient numbers to allow analysis and to report continuity of findings.

Table 6 - Key victim and offender characteristics

Key variables
Offender age
Offender ethnicity
Offender known to BTP
Offender charged
Victim age
Victim ethnicity

Table 6 shows the victim and offender variables selected for analysis based on their relevance to study 3. All other categories were rejected.[41]

As the data for this study was compiled for crime recording purposes and not research, certain variables required new codes to be created to meet the demands of the present research questions. Five existing variables relating to environmental factors were extracted from the dataset and recoded to either transform them into dichotomous variables or convert string variables into numeric. Table 7 shows the spatial and temporal variables selected for analysis based on their relevance to the present study, further discussion is provided below in relation to the assumptions and limitations of coding these variables. All other categories were rejected.[42]

Table 7 – Key spatial and temporal variables selected for analysis

Key categories
Offence type
Region (BTP sub-division)
Off/On train
Time of day
Time of year (season)

[41] Variables that had large amounts of missing data, were rejected as to avoid very small expected cell counts, to assure the validity of the Chi-square test of independence. Examples of rejected variables included, presence of drugs, mental ill health, self-harm risk indicators and nationality for offenders.
[42] Variables such as the date and year of the offence, the victim's start and end location and the Home Office police force were not included for analysis, as they were less relevant to understanding the situational and environmental factors influencing the commission of SOLT.

A coding dictionary (see Appendix V) was created to classify the key victim and offender characteristics, along with the spatial and temporal variables pertaining to the crime descriptors for analysis. A manifest content analysis (MCA) was conducted of the offence reports available in the free-text description from the crime records from the dataset outlined above. The researcher generated a list of offence variables to be applied to code the recorded offences. Each offence variable was carefully defined with a sentence to describe what the variable is, to enable an easy decision to be made as to how to categorise the behaviours. A full list of variables, with definitions for categorisation, used to describe the offence characteristics is provided in Appendix W. Some of the behaviour variables chosen were derived from the findings from the interviews and observations in the previous study described in chapter 4 and 5, for example, use of a prop, or the victim physically responding. Other variables were generated to capture some temporal aspects of the offence, such as the duration of the offence. Offence characteristics that were not deemed relevant or had very low frequencies (e.g. less than 1%) across the sample were excluded (see Appendix W), as their inclusion would not have been of benefit in this phase of the analysis (Canter, 1996).

A total of 24 offence characteristics common to sexual offences were identified through an MCA of the data available. Data analysis began with searching the information stored in an Excel file for occurrences of the identified offence behaviours. All variables were categorised dichotomously

with yes/no values based on presence/absence of behaviour in any one offence. A summary of the variables used to describe offence characteristics can be found in Table 8.

Table 8 - Offence characteristics as derived from content analysis of crime reports

Offence characteristics	
Heavy breathing	Following
Toucherism	Offence duration less than 1 minute
Frotteurism	Offence duration more than 1 minute
Rocking/rubbing with groin[43]	Victim physical moved away
Exposure	Victim responded verbally
Masturbating	Victim raised the alert
Kiss or attempted kiss	Witness intervened
Eye contact	Offender apologised
Upskirting	Offender left offence location
Use of prop	Victim left offence location
Verb harassment	Offender apprehended
Reaction - no difference	Offending behaviour*

*Not coded dichotomously

The focus on the perpetrator's behaviour, to include the social/interpersonal nature of criminal behaviour in these sexual offences against the person, was a pragmatic aim of this research (Canter, 1996). The data from study 3 provided greater context for all types of SOLT, contributing to an empirical model of offence behaviour. Twenty-two variables were identified as behaviours that could happen during an offence. A

[43] This behaviour is considered to be an extension of frotteurism, characterised by more prolonged contact imitating/simulating sexual movement

further 'offending behaviour' variable was created to identify the predominant characteristic when more than one was present. The offence reports were re-read and the 'offending behaviour' coded by the researcher as either 'toucherism', 'frotteurism', 'exposure', 'masturbation' or 'upskirting'. Chi-square analyses were conducted with all offence characteristics to identify the coherent salient aspect of the different types of sexual offending on London trains. This approach would indicate that the structured variations between offenders could be revealed in what they did when carrying out an sexual offence (Canter, 1996). Study 3 hypothesises that an examination of the behaviours as they occur in SOLT will reveal a structure that reflects the variety of decision-making that underlies the commission of those offences.

6.3.3 Difficulties and limitations of the data

As identified earlier in the chapter, there may be differences in offence behaviours for upskirting and offences involving masturbating, yet they are subsumed under Committing an Act Outraging Public Decency. Current debates suggest that both technological developments and the need to take upskirting more seriously, led to a change in legislation making upskirting a sexual offence (McGlynn & Rackley, 2017). In light of this argument, the decision was made to test the structure of the crime categories governing the different types of offending behaviour that may constitute Committing an Act Outraging Public Decency and Sexual Assault. This approach was not applied to Exposure, as this crime type was clearer, and the label was less problematic.

Chi-square analyses were repeated separating the three types of offence categories into five offence behaviour categories. Two of the offence behaviour categories related to Sexual Assault offences, as findings from the previous studies suggest that there were two quite distinct ways in which this type of offence was committed. Sexual assaults were characterised by individuals either touching the victim with their hand (toucherism) or by using their groin (frotteurism). Following the discussion in the previous paragraph, the offence behaviours in Committing an Act Outraging Public Decency was separated into two offence behaviour categories; masturbating and upskirting. No differentiation was made for the Exposure offence, which was simply defined as exposing offence behaviour. To explore the utility of the current legal framework, the coded offence behaviours 'toucherism, 'frotteurism', 'masturbating', 'upskirting' and 'exposing' were also explored in relation to the victim, offender and offence characteristics. Findings were reviewed to identify the similarities and differences within the overarching crime categories.

Central to the environmental criminology theories, outlined in Chapter 2, was the notion of spatial factors influencing individual's decisions to commit a sexual offence on London trains. Balemba and Beauregard (2013) found that temporal and spatial factors were relevant to the different types of sexual crimes that are committed. The suggestion that the complexity of sexual events and their situational components are relevant to the

understanding of sexual offences such as SOLT, justified the exploration of offence and offender characteristics across the rail network (i.e., by geographic location). Furthermore, the findings from the interviews with offenders in Chapter 5 indicated the necessity of conducting statistical analysis of these various aspects of the criminal event to inform situational crime prevention efforts. This approach has the potential to focus policing resources more narrowly and effectively for a greater effect on crime prevention (Balemba & Beauregard, 2013).

Not all spatial variables were readily available in the extracted dataset and required additional extraction and synthesis from the free text fields, e.g. crowdedness. This was achieved by the recoding of variables as outlined above, as a proxy for the train environment being crowded. For example, the analysis within this chapter utilised the time of day the offence took place in two ways. The first was to act as a time stamp, but more importantly for this study, time was also taken to be an indicator of the level of passenger volumes on the London train network. AM and PM weekday rush hours were taken to signify that the network would be a crowded and busy environment. This would be in contrast with the early morning, middle of the day and weekend, which would be comparatively less dense in the absence of the bulk of commuters. This decision was a best fit for a spatial variable which could represent the sometimes cramped, confining environment of a busy train

network, which would be pertinent to the commission of some types of SOLT.

There are three subdivisions within Division B relating to offences that occurred on Transport for London's remit, as well as in the South and East regions. The decision was made to combine the South and East regions for analysis for several reasons. Firstly, both areas are the suburbs of London and lie within the South East. Secondly, the South and East regions are 'end of line' locations. These geographical locations are characterised by longer distances between stations, less station staff available and fewer passenger numbers, both on and off trains, as you travel further from London. Thus, the region variable created was dichotomously recorded as either the offence occurring within the TfL or South and East region. This approach added some context to the environment in terms of passenger volume and crowdedness.

In regard to the offence location variable, there were over 50 responses recorded providing further details of the offence location. This richness of data can add value to the overall understanding of where SOLT occurs, exploring the relationship between the offence types and the full array of possible locations also increases interpretability but may hinder likely significance of quantitative tests. For the initial test of association, location was therefore defined dichotomously as off train and on train. On train characterised an environment in which quick exits were not guaranteed and

depending on the time of day, would also represent an environment in which there is little room for movement, such as rush hour conditions. Off train locations, on the other hand, had greater variation but at the very least provided greater opportunities to exit as and when the perpetrator needs, and for the victim to move away.

One limitation of having a 1-year dataset is that analysis is more sensitive to volatile trends and there are constraints to fully exploring seasonal effects. The period of the dataset does not allow for year on year comparisons, which may have afforded questions around temporal influences on offence type to be explored, amongst other observations. For example, whether there is an increase in upskirting offences in the summer months over a period of years. However, the dataset does allow for comparisons of seasonal variations within the one year. The final selected dataset permitted analysis to be undertaken on better quality data, which lends itself to use for replication and comparison in future studies.

6.3.4 Analytic procedures

Mixed methods combining MCA and inferential statistical approaches were used to produce the analysis presented in this chapter. The primary aim of this study was to examine the characteristics of SOLT, focusing on the different types of offences committed and the relationship between temporal and spatial characteristics of the offences. Descriptive statistics have been used for the first part of the analysis. Then, a series of Chi-Square tests were

employed to understand the relationship between categorical variables. Six Chi-square tests were computed on the offender dataset and 28 Chi-square tests were conducted on the offence dataset, with a further 11 supporting the log-linear analysis. A ransacking approach to post-hoc analysis of contingency tables was used, which focused on a 2 x 2 table of interest within a larger contingency table and then evaluate that 2 x 2 table for statistical significance (Goodman, 1969). Ransacking was only performed once on each contingency table, therefore, no adjustment was made for alpha inflation (Sharpe, 2015).

6.4 Results

In the following sections, only the positive and present, significant associations have been reported, as the focus of this analysis was on adding further context to the preliminary SOLT model. Further contingency tables with all the positive and negative associations can be found in Appendix X. Effect size values (Cramer's V) for Chi-square tests were applied from the guidelines provided by Cohen (1988), which range from .1 (small), .3 (medium), and .5 (large). The relationships between variables will be discussed in more depth below with the added context of the descriptive findings about the sample as a whole.

6.4.1 Offender characteristics

Based on the offender dataset, almost all the 321 perpetrators were male, with only one female, subsequently, the female perpetrator was excluded

from the dataset and all tests were run on male offenders only. The majority of perpetrators were White (53%), followed by Asian (18%) and Black (16%), Chinese (2%), Arabic/North African (1%) and 10% of ethnicity was unrecorded. The average age of perpetrators was 36.72 years[44] with an age range of 11- 78 years.[45]

6.4.2 Victim characteristics

The offence dataset identified that victims were mostly female (90%), followed by male (6%), with the remaining 4% unrecorded. Most victims were White (46%) followed by Asian (7%) and Black (7%), Chinese (2%) and 38% of ethnicity was unrecorded. The average age of victims was 27.78 years with an age range of 8-64 years.

6.4.3 Offence type

The initial analysis of the characteristics of the sample of the offence dataset provided information about SOLT in general. The 1441 recorded offences were categorised under 19 different types of sexual offences, according to legislation in England and Wales. As the focus of this research was on Sexual Assault (E28), Committing an Act Outraging Public Decency[46] (E14) and Exposure offences (E40), all other offences were excluded from the analysis. The analysis presented in the remainder of the chapter is based on the data for 1359 offences (with 294 identified offenders) that fall into

[44] Age as at 31st March 2017, which was the time stamp for data collection.
[45] Juvenile and adult offences would be categorised the same, however they would be disposed of differently.
[46] This will be abbreviated to Outraging Public Decency from this point forward

these three categories. Table 9 shows the breakdown for each offence type. Most offences within the dataset are sexual assaults, which accounted for more than two-thirds of the sexual offences recorded.

Table 9 - The volume and distribution of offence type (n=1359)

Offence Type	Volume	Percentage
Sexual Assault	939	69.0%
Outraging Public Decency	321	23.7%
Exposure	99	7.3%

Analyses were conducted on the offence dataset to address three key characteristics of each offence type: offence location; offence time; and offence behaviours. The focus of analysis was to identify how the variables are related to each other, so that conclusions could be drawn in relation to how Sexual Assault, Outraging Public Decency and Exposure offences, are committed on the trains.

6.4.4 Offence location

69.6% of offences occurred on TfL's jurisdiction (*n*=946), with 17.0% (*n*=231) occurring in the South and 13.4% (*n*=182) in the East regions. BTP record offence location in a very detailed way, to include location coordinates and a classification of crime location description. Figure 11 plots the transformed XY location coordinates of where the offences were reported to have taken place onto a map of the tube lines using GoogleMaps. The graph

shows a large proportion of offences occurred in a central concentrated area, which corresponds to the Zones 1-2 on the TfL London Underground network.

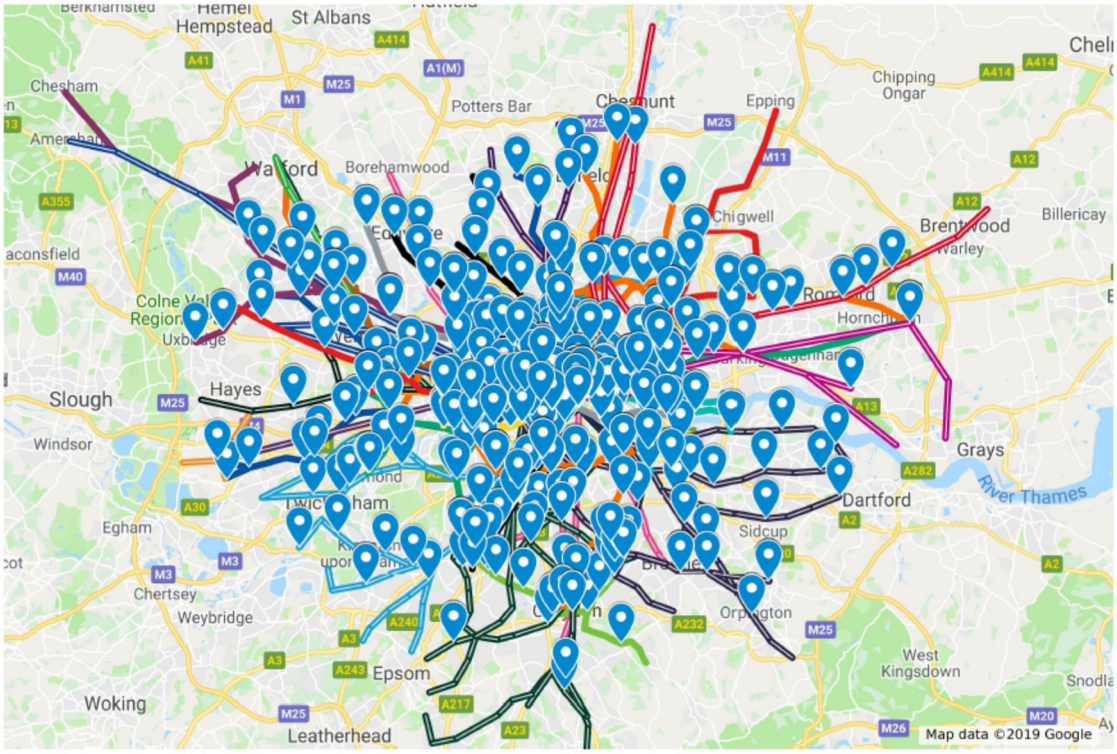


Figure 11 - Crime location of offences plotted by coordinates on to the tube lines

Table 10 shows that Sexual Assaults were more likely to occur on TfL jurisdiction than in the South and East regions, X^2 (2, N =1359) = 15.49, p<.01. Cramer's V =.11 indicates a small effect size. Outraging Public Decency and Exposure offences were more likely to occur in the South and East regions than in the TfL region.

Of the 1359 offences analysed, 70.5% (n=958) are committed on a train or tram. The remaining 401 offences (29.5%) occur at specific locations not on a train carriage. This includes a range of locations under BTP

jurisdiction; from platforms, stairs, escalators and station buildings, to male toilets, retail outlets, restaurants, bars and entertainment venues, which lie within the station complexes.

Table 10 - The relationship between the BTP region (sub-division) governing where the offence took place and offence type (n=1359)

			Region		
			South & East	**TfL**	**Total**
Offence Type	**Sexual Assault**	Count	255	684	939
		Expected Count	285.4	653.6	939.0
		% within Region	61.7%	72.3%	69.1%
	Outraging Public Decency	Count	118	203	321
		Expected Count	97.6	223.4	321.0
		% within Region	28.6%	21.5%	23.6%
	Exposure	Count	40	59	99
		Expected Count	30.1	68.9	99.0
		% within Region	9.7%	6.2%	7.3%
Total		Count	413	946	1359
		Expected Count	413.0	946.0	1359.0
		% of Total	30.4%	69.6%	100.0%

As discussed earlier in the chapter, for the purpose of study 3, the locations have been grouped into two categories; on train and off train. Analysis of the relationship between offences being committed on or off the train and offence type was shown to be non-significant. It was surprising that the offence types were not distinguishable in relation to on board and off train locations, given the nature of the different offence types. This may be due to

crowded platforms being similar, during rush hour, to the conditions on a crowded train, as although theoretically there is an exit it may not be very accessible. Both existing literature and the findings from the previous chapters presented in this thesis have indicated that there are a wide variety of behaviours that can occur in sexual assaults. For example, there is a clear delineation between those sexual assaults that involve the perpetrator's use of hands and those which involve the perpetrator's groin area. A more nuanced look at the behaviours within the offence type provided in the following sections, might yield a clearer understanding of the relationship between offence location and offence type.

Location: TfL/ South and East Regions

Table 11 shows that there is a significant relationship between region location and the different types of offending behaviour, X^2 (5, N =1358) = 32.59, p<.01. Cramer's V =.16. Toucherism, frotteurism and upskirting offences were more likely to occur within the TfL region with 73%, 77% and 79% (respectively) occurring on TfL, in comparison to 70% of all cases. Toucherism, frotteurism and upskirting require an individual to be near their target and be in an environment where they can be relatively undetected amongst others. Whilst figures are not readily available, it seems apparent that there is a greater density of people travelling on the TfL in comparison to the volume of people travelling in the South and East regions. Thus, a greater

proportion of sexual offences involving toucherism, frotteurism and upskirting will happen in those conditions.

Table 11 - The positive significant relationships between region and offending behaviours (n=1358)

			Region		
			South & East	**TfL**	**Total**
Offending behaviour	**Toucherism**	Count	195	510	705
		Expected Count	214.4	490.6	705.0
		% within Region	47.2%	54.0%	51.9%
	Frotteurism	Count	46	156	202
		Expected Count	61.4	140.6	202.0
		% within Region	11.1%	16.5%	14.9%
	Exposure	Count	43	73	116
		Expected Count	35.3	80.7	116.0
		% within Region	10.4%	7.7%	8.5%
	Masturbation	Count	95	129	224
		Expected Count	68.1	155.9	224.0
		% within Region	23.0%	13.7%	16.5%
	Upskirting	Count	14	52	66
		Expected Count	20.1	45.9	66.0
		% within Region	33.7%	25.8%	28.1%
	Other	Count	135	247	382
		Expected Count	112.7	269.3	382.0
		% within Region	3.4%	5.5%	4.9%
Total		Count	413	945	1358
		Expected Count	413.0	945.0	1358.0
		% of Total	30.4%	69.6%	100.0%

Two-thirds of the 322 Outraging Public Decency offences involve masturbating behaviours (*n*=224) and therefore, accounted for most of the sexual offending behaviours in this category. Masturbation was more likely to occur within the South and East regions with 42% of all masturbation offences occurring, in comparison to 30% of all cases in the South and East regions. The differences in some of the characteristics between the South and East region locations and the TfL region may contribute to the occurrence of masturbating behaviour. For example, the locations in the South and East regions are likely to be less busy in terms of passengers, which is more conducive to the individual who wants to direct their masturbation to only one victim. Despite there being 99 Exposure offences recorded, there were 175 recorded instances within crime reports of exposing behaviours. Of the 175, 35% co-occurred with masturbating behaviours (*n*= 61) and were subsequently recorded as Outraging Public Decency offences. A greater proportion of offences involving exposure occur in locations covered by the South and East regions of BTP (10%, *n*=43), compared with the 8% of offences with exposing behaviours occurring in TfL's jurisdiction.

Location: On/Off-train

The focus of the analysis in this section is on whether the sexual offending behaviours occurred in onboard or off-train locations. Table 12 presents the significant association between actual location and the different

types of offending behaviours, X^2 (5, N =1358) = 114.09, p<.01. Cramer's V =.30, was a moderate effect size.

Table 12 - The positive relationships between location and offending behaviours (n=1358)

			Location		
			Off train	**On train**	**Total**
Offending behaviour	**Toucherism**	Count	259	446	705
		Expected Count	207.7	497.3	705.0
		% within Location	64.8%	46.6%	51.9%
	Frotteurism	Count	15	187	202
		Expected Count	59.5	142.5	202
		% within Location	3.8%	19.5%	14.9%
	Exposure	Count	30	86	116
		Expected Count	34.2	81.8	116.0
		% within Location	7.5%	9.0%	8.5%
	Masturbation	Count	37	187	224
		Expected Count	66.0	158.0	224.0
		% within Location	9.3%	19.5%	16.5%
	Upskirting	Count	36	30	66
		Expected Count	19.4	46.6	66.0
		% within Location	9.0%	3.1%	4.9%
	Other	Count	23	22	45
		Expected Count	13.3	31.7	45
		% within Location	3.4%	5.5%	4.9%
Total		Count	400	958	1358
		Expected Count	400.0	958.0	1358.0
		% of Total	29.5%	70.5%	100.0%

Toucherism was more likely to occur in an off-train location with 37% of all toucherism occurring on platforms, escalators and other areas, in comparison to 30% of all cases. This finding suggests that individuals committing these offences prefer to be in an environment where it is easy to make a quick getaway to remain anonymous. Of the 202 cases of frotteurism as the dominant behaviour, the vast majority (93%, *n*=202) are on the train, compared to 71% of sexual offence cases. This finding indicates that a greater percentage of frotteurism occurs on board trains than toucherism behaviour, indicating that combining the two diverse offence behaviours in the same offence type category potentially masks the extent to which perpetrators behave differently in sexual assault offences.

Masturbation occurred onboard trains in 83% (*n*=187) of the reported cases, compared to 17% (*n*=37) that occurred at off train locations. More importantly, masturbation was more likely to occur at an on-train location, in comparison to 71% of all cases. This suggests that the fluid environment of off train locations may not provide the right conditions with which to carry out masturbating behaviours. This could be because it is harder to target a victim who is on the move or because there is an increased risk of being caught in off train areas.

There was a total of 66 (20%) occasions when upskirting was the primary behaviour recorded in the 322 Outraging Public Decency offences. Whilst the findings indicate upskirting was more likely to occur at an off-train

location, such as on stairs and escalators in 55% cases, in comparison with 30% of all cases. There was a fairly an equal number of offences at on-train and off-train locations (45% vs 55%, respectively), which suggests that there could be greater awareness of policing of this type of offence on board trains. There was no significant difference between whether the exposing behaviour happened on board a train or in other off-train locations. This suggests that the aspects of the environment were of less importance for individuals committing exposing behaviour, for example, having the ability for a quick getaway was not as relevant as it was for those engaging in toucherism. It also fits with the narrative of a fantasy and/or the whole point of being seen as expressed by Neil in Chapter 5.

6.4.5 Offence time

As seen in this chapter, most sexual offences occur on the train and are non-penetration Sexual Assault offences, which involve sexual touching over clothes. The graph in Figure 12 indicates that the greatest proportion of sexual offences occur at 8am, accounting for 14% of all offences. The peak travel time in the morning and evening for volume of passengers correlates with the volume of offences. Due to the distinct time periods in the day on public transport, which are related to how crowded and busy the environment can be, the hours were combined into five categories. There were several associations between the temporal and spatial variables within the dataset.

Figure 13 shows there was a steady rise in offending rates throughout the day in the South and East regions, reaching a

Table 13 shows each of the categories and their volume of overall crime. Once aggregated, the largest singular period of time is the late evening, although the AM and PM rush hour (peak travel time) accounts for over 50% of the volume of offences.

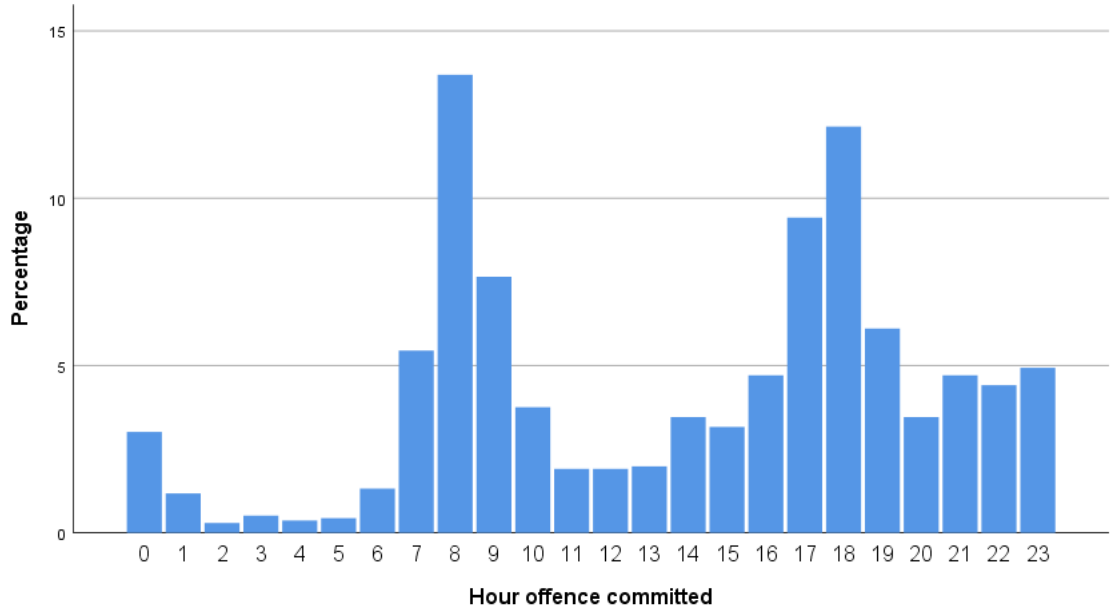


Figure 12 - Percentage of sexual offences that occurred in each hour of the day

There were several associations between the temporal and spatial variables within the dataset. Figure 13 shows there was a steady rise in offending rates throughout the day in the South and East regions, reaching a

Table 13 – Offence time – group variables by volume (n=1359)

Offence time range (group variable)	Volume	Percentage

Early morning (03.00-06.59)	36	2.6%
AM rush hour (07.00-09.59)	364	26.8%
Middle of the day (10.00-15.59)	220	16.2%
PM rush hour (16.00-18.59)	357	26.3%
Late evening (19.00-02.59)	382	28.1%

peak in the late hours of the evening, whereas on TfL there is a sharp increase in offending in the morning rush hour followed by a marked drop in offences during the middle of the day.

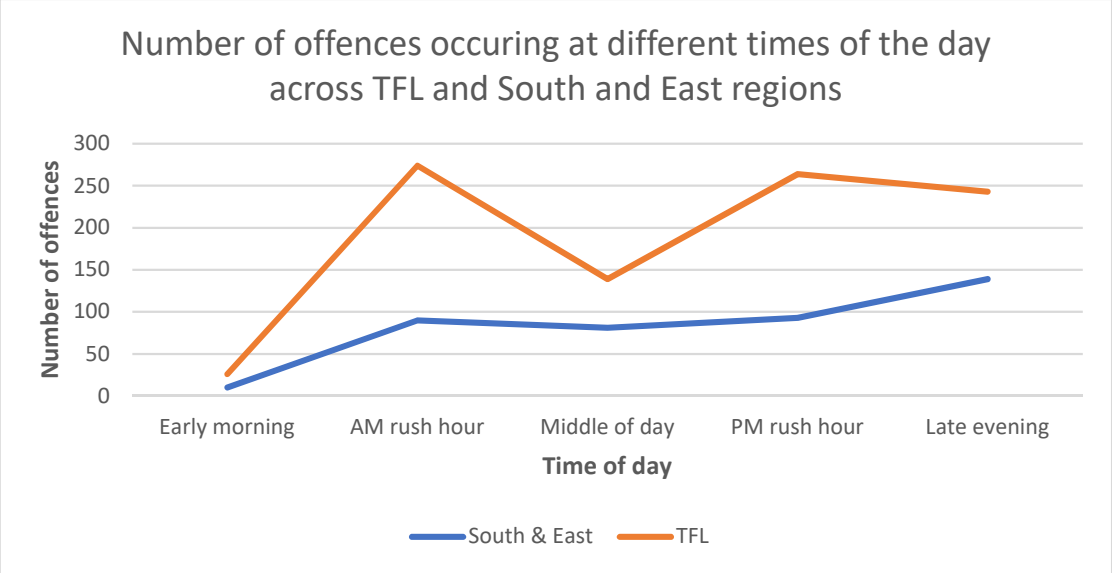


Figure 13 – Rates of offending at different times of the day within the TfL and South/East regions

There was a significant relationship between the time of the offence and the BTP region which has the jurisdiction of the offence location, X^2 (4, N =1359) = 19.61, p<.01, as shown in Figure 13.[47] Cramer's V = .12 was a small effect size.

[47] Full contingency table can be referred to in Appendix X

There were variations in the patterns of offending throughout the day, with different peaks within each of the two regions, as shown in Figure 14. There was more overall within TfL, but within each region peak offending in South/ East regions was late whereas on TfL it was during the two rush hours

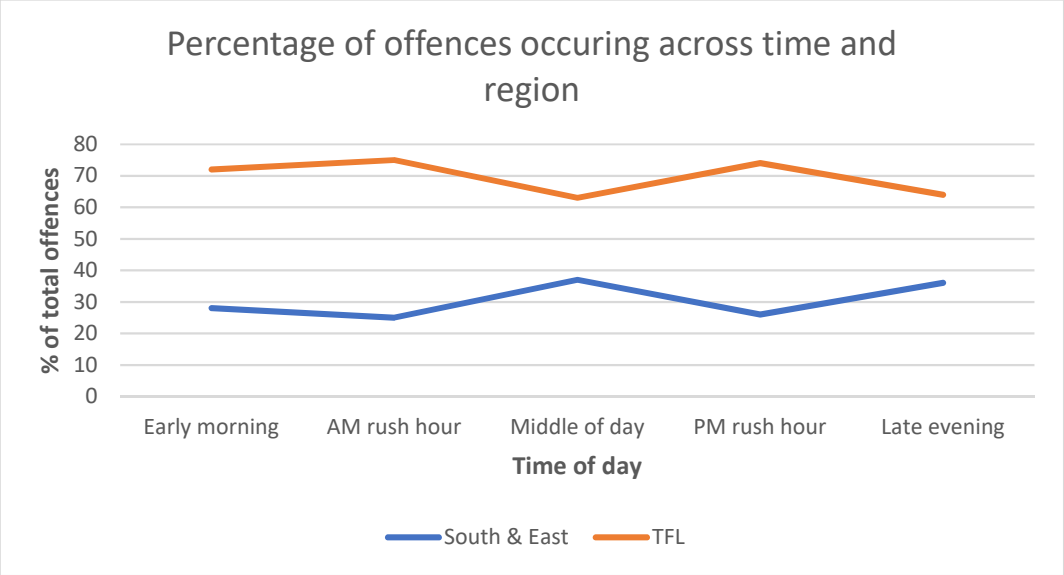


Figure 14 - The significant relationship between time and region where offences take place

periods. This suggests that from a BTP perspective, the deployment of proactive officers during the middle of the day is likely to yield less detection of Sexual Assault, Outraging Public Decency and Exposure offences. Therefore, it could have implications for the structure of working shifts or deployment strategies.

Table 14 shows a significant association between time of day and location, X^2 (4, N =1359) = 47.72, p<.01. Cramer's V = .19 was a small effect size. Offences were more likely to occur on train during the AM and PM rush hours (32% and 26% respectively) than at any other times of the day.

Offences were more likely to happen in the morning rush hour with 84% of the offences occurring on board a train, in comparison to 71% of all cases.

Table 14 - The relationship between offence location and time of day (n=1359)

			Location		
			Off Train	**On Train**	**Total**
Time of day	**Early morning**	Count	18	18	36
		Expected Count	10.6	25.4	36.0
		% within Off/On Train	4.5%	1.9%	2.6%
	AM rush hour	Count	60	304	364
		Expected Count	107.4	256.6	364.0
		% within Off/On Train	15.0%	31.7%	26.8%
	Middle of day	Count	79	141	220
		Expected Count	64.9	155.1	220.0
		% within Off/On Train	19.7%	14.7%	16.2%
	PM rush hour	Count	109	248	357
		Expected Count	105.3	251.7	357.0
		% within Off/On Train	27.2%	25.9%	26.3%
	Late evening	Count	135	247	382
		Expected Count	112.7	269.3	382.0
		% within Off/On Train	33.7%	25.8%	28.1%
Total		Count	401	958	1359
		Expected Count	401.0	958.0	1359.0
		% of Total	29.5%	70.5%	100.0%

Analysis of the temporal variables and the offence categories demonstrated that there was a significant association between offence type

and time of day, X^2 (8, N =1359) = 124.59, p<.01. Cramer's V = .21 was a small effect size.

Table 15 - The relationship between offence type and time of day (n=1359)

			Time					
			Early morning	**AM Rush hour**	**Middle of day**	**PM rush hour**	**Late evening**	**Total**
Offence Type	**Sexual Assault**	Count	18	314	110	268	229	939
		Expected Count	24.9	251.5	152.0	246.7	263.9	939.0
		% within Time	50.0%	86.3%	50.0%	75.1%	59.9%	69.1%
	Outraging Public Decency	Count	12	41	76	75	117	321
		Expected Count	8.5	86.0	52.0	84.3	90.2	321.0
		% within Time	33.3%	11.3%	34.5%	21.0%	30.6%	23.6%
	Exposure	Count	6	9	34	14	36	99
		Expected Count	2.6	26.5	16.0	26.0	27.8	99.0
		% within Time	16.7%	2.5%	15.5%	3.9%	9.4%	7.3%
Total		Count	36	364	220	357	382	1359
		Expected Count	36.0	364.0	220.0	357.0	382.0	1359.0
		% of Total	2.6%	26.8%	16.2%	26.3%	28.1%	100.0%

Table 15 shows that Sexual Assault offences were more likely to occur during the morning rush hour with 33% of those offences, in comparison to 26% of all sexual offence types. Outraging Public Decency offences were more likely to take place in the middle of the day with 24% of these offences occurring, in

comparison to 16% of all cases. A higher proportion of offences involving exhibitionism occur during the late evening with 36% occurring, in comparison to 28% of all sexual offence types.

Table 16 - The relationship between offence type and time of year (n=1359)

			Season				
			Autumn	**Winter**	**Spring**	**Summer**	**Total**
Offence Type	**Sexual Assault**	Count	243	241	224	231	939
		Expected Count	245.3	223.2	214.9	255.7	939.0
		% within Season	68.5%	74.6%	72.0%	62.4%	69.1%
	Outraging Public Decency	Count	87	67	69	98	321
		Expected Count	83.9	76.3	73.5	87.4	321.0
		% within Season	24.5%	20.7%	22.2%	26.5%	23.6%
	Exposure	Count	25	15	18	41	99
		Expected Count	25.9	23.5	22.7	27.0	99.0
		% within Season	7.0%	4.6%	5.8%	11.1%	7.3%
Total		Count	355	323	311	370	1359
		Expected Count	355.0	323.0	311.0	370.0	1359.0
		% of Total	26.1%	23.8%	22.9%	27.2%	100.0%

There was also a significant relationship between offence type and time of year, X^2 (6, N =1359) = 18.41, p<.01. Cramer's V = .08 was a small effect size. The proportion of Sexual Assault offences was consistent all year round,

whereas Exposure offences were more likely to occur in summer with 41% of all Exposure offences occurring in summer, in comparison to 27% of all cases (see Table 16).

Time: Sexual Assault – Toucherism

Table 17 - The relationship between time of day and toucherism (n=1358)

			Time of day					
			Early morning	**AM Rush hour**	**Middle of day**	**PM rush hour**	**Late evening**	**Total**
Toucherism	**No**	Count	18	122	124	136	186	586
		Expected Count	15.5	157.1	94.9	153.6	164.8	586.0
		% within Time of Day	50.0%	33.5%	56.4%	38.2%	48.7%	43.2%
	Yes	Count	18	242	96	220	196	772
		Expected Count	20.5	206.9	125.1	202.4	217.2	772.0
		% within Time of day	50.0%	66.5%	43.6%	61.8%	51.3%	56.8%
Total		Count	36	364	220	356	382	1358
		Expected Count	36.0	364.0	220.0	356.0	382.0	1358.0
		% of Total	2.7%	26.8%	16.2%	26.2%	28.1%	100.0%

When looking specifically at offences that involved the perpetrator's use of the hands, a significant association was noted between toucherism and time of day, X^2 (4, N =1358) = 38.45, p<.01. Cramer's V = .17 was a small

association. Toucherism behaviour was more likely to take place in the morning rush hour with 31% of these offences occurring, in comparison to 27% of all cases, as shown in Table 17 this relationship was consistent with the association reported earlier between time of day and Sexual Assault offences more generally. With regards to the significant association that was observed between Sexual Assaults offences and the time year which was seen above, this was not replicated when looking specifically those involving touching with hands and the season.

Time: Sexual Assault – Frotteurism

There was a significant association between offences involving frotteurism and time of day, X^2 (4, N =1358) = 63.81, P<.01. Cramer's V = .22 was a small to moderate association. Frotteurism was more likely to occur in the morning rush hour with 45% of these offences occurring, in comparison to 27% of all cases, see Table 18. This is indicative of sexual offending of this nature requiring an environment which is crowded with a high density of people. There was no association between frotteurism and season indicating again that this environmental factor was less relevant.

Time: Outraging Public Decency – Masturbating

There was a significant association between offences involving masturbating and the time of day, X^2 (4, N =1358) = 55.63, p<.01. Cramer's V = .20 was a small association. Table 19 shows that 31% of masturbating

behaviours occur in the late evening, in comparison to 27% of all cases. These behaviours were less likely to be present in the AM and PM rush hour periods, suggesting that a less crowded environment was preferable for individuals to engage in masturbation. There was no significant association between offences where masturbating behaviours were present and time of year.

Table 18 - The relationship between time of day and frotteurism (n=1358)

			Time of day					
			Early morning	**AM Rush hour**	**Middle of day**	**PM rush hour**	**Late evening**	**Total**
Frotteurism	**No**	Count	34	269	202	290	353	1148
		Expected Count	30.4	307.7	186.0	300.9	322.9	1148.0
		% within Time of day	94.4%	73.9%	91.8%	81.5%	92.4%	84.5%
	Yes	Count	2	95	18	66	29	210
		Expected Count	5.6	56.3	34.0	55.1	59.1	210.0
		% within Time of day	5.6%	26.1%	8.2%	18.5%	7.6%	15.5%
Total		Count	36	364	220	356	382	1358
		Expected Count	36.0	364.0	220.0	356.0	382.0	1358.0
		% of Total	2.7%	26.8%	16.2%	26.2%	28.1%	100.0%

Table 19 - The relationship between time of day and masturbation (n=1358)

			Time of Day					
			Early morning	**AM Rush hour**	**Middle of day**	**PM rush hour**	**Late evening**	**Total**
Masturbating	**No**	Count	30	327	151	313	297	1118
		Expected Count	29.6	299.7	181.1	293.1	314.5	1118.0
		% within Time of day	83.3%	89.8%	68.6%	87.9%	77.7%	82.3%
		% of Total	2.2%	24.1%	11.1%	23.0%	21.9%	82.3%
	Yes	Count	6	37	69	43	85	240
		Expected Count	6.4	64.3	38.9	62.9	67.5	240.0
		% within Time of day	16.7%	10.2%	31.4%	12.1%	22.3%	17.7%
Total		Count	36	364	220	356	382	1358
		Expected Count	36.0	364.0	220.0	356.0	382.0	1358.0
		% within Time of day	2.7%	26.8%	16.2%	26.2%	28.1%	100.0%

Time: Outraging Public Decency – Upskirting

Table 20 shows that there was a significant relationship between upskirting behaviours and time of day, X^2 (4, N =1358) = 15.83, p<.01. Cramer's V = .11 was a small association. Upskirting was more likely to occur during the evening rush hour and late evening with 32% upskirting behaviours occurring at these times, in comparison to 26% and 28% of all cases (respectively).

Table 20 - The relationship between time of day and upskirting (n=1358)

			Time of day					
			Early morning	**AM Rush hour**	**Middle of day**	**PM rush hour**	**Late evening**	**Total**
Upskirting	**No**	Count	30	354	211	334	360	1289
		Expected Count	34.2	345.5	208.8	337.9	362.6	1289.0
		% within Time of day	83.3%	97.3%	95.9%	93.8%	94.2%	94.9%
	Yes	Count	6	10	9	22	22	69
		Expected Count	1.8	18.5	11.2	18.1	19.4	69.0
		% within Time of day	16.7%	2.7%	4.1%	6.2%	5.8%	5.1%
Total		Count	36	364	220	356	382	1358
		Expected Count	36.0	364.0	220.0	356.0	382.0	1358.0
		% within Time of day	2.7%	26.8%	16.2%	26.2%	28.1%	100.0%

Not surprisingly, there was a significant association between upskirting and time of year, X^2 (3, N =1358) = 20.80, p<.01. Cramer's V = .12 was a small association. Table 21 shows that upskirting behaviours were proportionately higher in the summer with 43% of upskirting offences taking place in the summer months, in comparison with 26% of all sexual offences. This finding supports the notion that the absence of clothing in the warmer months facilitates upskirting behaviours.

Table 21 - The relationship between time of year and upskirting (n=1358)

			Season				
			Autumn	**Winter**	**Spring**	**Summer**	**Total**
Upskirting	**No**	Count	330	316	304	339	1289
		Expected Count	337.0	306.6	295.2	350.3	1289.0
		% within Season	93.0%	97.8%	97.7%	91.9%	94.9%
	Yes	Count	25	7	7	30	69
		Expected Count	18.0	16.4	15.8	18.7	69.0
		% within Season	7.0%	2.2%	2.3%	8.1%	5.1%
Total		Count	355	323	311	369	1358
		Expected Count	355.0	323.0	311.0	369.0	1358.0
		% of Total	26.1%	23.8%	22.9%	27.2%	100.0%

Time: Exposure

There was a significant association between exposing behaviours and time of day, X^2 (4, N =1358) = 51.16, p<.01. Cramer's V = .19 signifying a small association. Nearly a quarter of all the offences involving exposure (23%, n=51) occur in the middle of the day, as shown in Table 22. Exposure was more likely to occur during the middle of the day with 29% of all Exposure offences occurring during this timeframe, in comparison to 16%% of all cases.

Table 22 - The relationship between time of day and exposure (n=1358)

			Time of day					
			Early morning	**AM Rush hour**	**Middle of day**	**PM rush hour**	**Late evening**	**Total**
Exposure	**No**	Count	29	345	169	323	317	1183
		Expected Count	31.4	317.1	191.6	310.1	332.8	1183.0
		% within Time of day	80.6%	94.8%	76.8%	90.7%	83.0%	87.1%
	Yes	Count	7	19	51	33	65	175
		Expected Count	4.6	46.9	28.4	45.9	49.2	175.0
		% within Time of day	19.4%	5.2%	23.2%	9.3%	17.0%	12.9%
Total		Count	36	364	220	356	382	1358
		Expected Count	36.0	364.0	220.0	356.0	382.0	1358.0
		% of Total	2.7%	26.8%	16.2%	26.2%	28.1%	100.0%

Individuals exposing themselves during a sexual offence was significantly associated with the time of year, X^2 (3, N =1358) = 8.65, p<.05. Cramer's V = .08 was a small effect size. Sexual offences that involved exposure were more likely to occur in the summer (see Table 23). Exposure was more likely to occur during the summer months with 35% of all exposures taking place, in comparison to 27% of all cases. This suggests that warmer temperature makes it more appealing for an individual to expose themselves.

Table 23 - The relationship between time of year and exposure (n=1359)

			Season				
			Autumn	**Winter**	**Spring**	**Summer**	**Total**
Exposure	**No**	Count	308	288	280	307	1183
		Expected Count	309.3	281.4	270.9	321.4	1183.0
		% within Season	86.8%	89.2%	90.0%	83.2%	87.1%
	Yes	Count	47	35	31	62	175
		Expected Count	45.7	41.6	40.1	47.6	175.0
		% within Season	13.2%	10.8%	10.0%	16.8%	12.9%
Total		Count	355	323	311	369	1358
		Expected Count	355.0	323.0	311.0	369.0	1358.0
		% of Total	26.1%	23.8%	22.9%	27.2%	100.0%

6.4.6 Offence characteristics

Table 24 shows the breakdown of offence behaviours in the offence dataset as opposed to the offence type. Toucherism was the most prevalent behaviour (57%, *n*=772) followed by masturbation (18%, *n*=240).

Table 24 - Frequency of offence behaviour (n-1359)

Offence behaviour	Volume	Percentage
Toucherism	772	56.8%
Masturbation	240	17.7%
Frotteurism	210	15.5%
Exposure	175	12.9%
Upskirting	69	5.1%

Toucherism – offence characteristics

Individuals engaging in toucherism offences were less likely to use their groin area, expose themselves or masturbate as part of their offending behaviour. Whilst these findings suggest that there was generally no crossover offending with perpetrators of toucherism offences (*n*=9, 1%), this claim cannot be confidently upheld without knowing the suspects and their criminal history. Findings reported in this study, do not find support for Freund et al's (1997) findings that there was a significant proportion of frotteurs and touchers who were judged to have other types of paraphilias amongst a group of men who had committed rape. This suggests, subject to the aforementioned limitation, that individuals who commit these types of sexual assaults may be quite different to individuals who commit rape and violent sexual assaults.

Four variables had positive and present associations are shown in Table 25. Offences involving toucherism were significantly more likely to involve an attempted/actual kiss with the victim, although this was a weak association (Cramer's V =.27). This type of offending was also significantly associated with verbal harassment (Cramer's V = .21, small effect size). The presence of these characteristics suggests an additional motivation to evoke an interaction or response from the victim. It is possible that this behaviour characterises a desire on the part of the perpetrator to be intimate with the victim. On the other hand, a greater proportion of toucherism offences tended to last for less than a minute in duration, e.g. 'a pinch on the bum', and the nature of this

type of offending behaviour is more likely to elicit a physical response, such as turning around or attempting to move away. Perpetrators of toucherism offences were more likely to leave the location, which corresponds with them being proportionately less likely to be apprehended at the time of the offence and having a lower rate of detection in comparison to other SOLT (Jones, 2016).

Frotteurism – offence characteristics

Table 25 shows four of the 24 variables from the offence dataset that were reported as positive and significant in relation to frotteurism offences. Offences involving frotteurism were significantly associated with the victim physically responding to the assault, yet despite this there was a significant relationship between frotteurism and the perpetrator following the victim, Cramer's V =.24 is a small association. Perpetrators committing frotteurism were more likely to pursue a victim who moved away to another location (76%, *n*=50). This would suggest that perpetrators of frotteurism were not easily dissuaded and continued their actions, regardless of the victim's resistance to the offending behaviour.

Table 25 - Offence characteristics separating the five offence types (n=1358)

		%	n	Statistic	Cramer's
Use of prop	Toucherism	1.4	10		
	Frotteurism	2.0	4		
	Exposure	3.4	4	X^2 = 667.22***	.70
	Masturbation	3.6	8		
	Upskirting	**78.8**	52		
Following	Toucherism	32.1	36		
	Frotteurism	**75.8**	50		
	Exposure	0	0	X^2 = 53.35***	.50
	Masturbation	5.6	1		
	Upskirting	0	0		
Offence duration <1min	Toucherism	**51.3**	362		
	Frotteurism	15.3	31		
	Exposure	30.2	35	X^2 = 60.71***	.37
	Masturbation	11.6	26		
	Upskirting	24.2	16		
Kiss	Toucherism	**4.7**	33		
	Frotteurism	0	0		
	Exposure	0	0	X^2 = 101.55***	.27
	Masturbation	0	0		
	Upskirting	0	0		
Victim physically moved	Toucherism	45.4	320		
	Frotteurism	**53.5**	108		
	Exposure	20.7	24	X^2 = 77.12***	.24
	Masturbation	25.4	57		
	Upskirting	16.7	11		
Eye contact	Toucherism	9.8	69		
	Frotteurism	5.9	12	X^2 = 60.71***	
	Exposure	10.3	12		.21
	Masturbation	**25.4**	57		
	Upskirting	0	0		
Offence duration >1min	Toucherism	33.6	237		
	Frotteurism	**57.9**	117		
	Exposure	19.8	23	X^2 = 59.72***	.21
	Masturbation	34.4	77		
	Upskirting	27.3	18		
Verbal harassment	Toucherism	**16.7**	118	X^2 = 58.09***	
	Frotteurism	5.4	11		
	Exposure	7.7	13	X^2 = 77.12***	.21
	Masturbation	6.5	11		
	Upskirting	1.5	1		
Witness intervention	Toucherism	6.0	42		
	Frotteurism	5.9	12		
	Exposure	6.0	7	X^2 = 55.35***	.20
	Masturbation	2.7	6		
	Upskirting	**27.3**	18		
Offender left offence location	Toucherism	37.4	264		
	Frotteurism	**39.1**	79		
	Exposure	21.6	25	X^2 = 40.49***	.17
	Masturbation	20.5	46		
	Upskirting	18.2	12		
Victim left offence location	Toucherism	**28.1**	198		
	Frotteurism	25.7	52		
	Exposure	14.7	17	X^2 = 19.95**	.12
	Masturbation	24.1	54		
	Upskirting	9.1	6		

Note: df = 3, *N*=1358. *** =p<.001, ** =p<.01

A significant association was also found between offences involving frotteurism and the duration of the incident lasting more than 1 minute. Frotteurism offences were more likely to last for longer than a minute, indicating that this type of sexual assault was often constituted a longer ordeal for the victim and greater intensity than the toucherism Sexual Assault offences. There was a significant relationship between frotteurism and the offender leaving the location, although Cramer's V =.17 signifies a small effect. The offender perpetrating frotteurism was more likely to leave the offence location than those whose offences does not involve frotteurism. Additionally, the analysis of the offender dataset reported in Table 26 showed a significant association between touching with groin and the ethnicity, X^2 (5, N =265) = 11.44, p<.05. Cramer's V =.21 signifies a small association. This finding suggests that individuals committing frotteurism were more likely to be BME than white, however interpretation is approached with some caution within the discussion section of this chapter.

Masturbation – offence characteristics

Based on the offence dataset, unsurprisingly, there was a significant association between masturbation and exposing genitals, more than a quarter of masturbation offences also involved exposure (29%, n=53). Table 25 shows that the main variable reported as positive and significant in relation to masturbation offences was eye contact. A significant relationship was observed between masturbation and eye contact, with a quarter of

Table 26 - Relationship between perpetrator ethnicity and frotteurism offences (n=265)

			Perpetrator ethnicity		
			White	**BME**	**Total**
Offending behaviour	**Toucherism**	Count	69	47	116
		Expected Count	67.4	48.6	116.0
		% within Ethnicity	44.8%	42.3%	43.8%
	Frotteurism	Count	10	21	31
		Expected Count	18.0	13.0	31.0
		% within Ethnicity	6.5%	18.9%	11.7%
	Exposure	Count	13	10	23
		Expected Count	13.4	9.6	23.0
		% within Ethnicity	8.4%	9.0%	8.7%
	Masturbation	Count	33	19	52
		Expected Count	30.2	21.8	52.0
		% within Ethnicity	21.4%	17.1%	19.6%
	Upskirting	Count	24	10	34
		Expected Count	19.8	14.2	34.0
		% within Ethnicity	15.6%	9.0%	12.8%
	Other	Count	5	4	9
		Expected Count	5.2	3.8	9.0
		% within Ethnicity	3.2%	3.6%	3.4%
Total		Count	154	111	265
		Expected Count	154.0	111.0	265.0
		% of Total	58.1%	41.9%	100.0%

perpetrators committing masturbation offences engaging in eye contact with victims. Again, the positioning of the victim and the suspect with this type of

offence makes eye contact more likely. This suggests that the perpetrator is seeking some interaction with the victim without being in close proximity, which is markedly different from frotteurism offences. There was also an indication of an association between the offender displaying masturbating behaviours and leaving the location. Offenders who commit masturbation offences tended to stay at the offence location. This is consistent with the association between masturbation and the individual being charged, identified from analysis of the offender dataset. Individuals committing masturbation offences were more likely to be charged by BTP, X^2 (5, N =293) = 13.24, p<.05. Cramer's V =.21 is a small association.[48] This would suggest that this provides an enhanced opportunity for BTP officers to be deployed to locations to apprehend perpetrators, when receiving notification of this type of offence. In addition, individuals who committed masturbation offences were significantly more likely to be previously known to BTP for other offences, X^2 (5, N =228) = 25.31, p<.01. Cramer's V =.33 signifies a moderate association. [49]

Upskirting – offence characteristics

As Table 25 shows, only two of the variables were present and significantly associated with upskirting behaviours, including the prop variable which is inevitable given the offence. There was, however, a significant

[48] Contingency table found in Appendix X
[49] Contingency table found in Appendix X

relationship between upskirting behaviours and witness intervention. Witnesses were more likely to intervene when upskirting behaviour is present than when it is not (27% vs 6%). It is probable that due to the nature of victims generally being unaware that an upskirting offence is taking place, bystanders feel mobilised to act on their observations to protect victims.

6.5 Loglinear analysis

Loglinear analysis was used to determine if there were statistically significant relationships among the variables identified in the chi square tests. The loglinear method was appropriate for multivariate data arranged in contingency table format, which have been categorised do not require any further distributional requirements to be met. Other statistical tests such as cluster analysis would identify variables that cluster together but not the degree to which theses variables are related. The findings in previous chapters have generated hypotheses in relation to relationship between variables, cluster analysis methods would not allow for further statistical significance testing. Additionally, Multidimensional scaling (MDS) was also rejected, as it would be more applicable if the research question only sought to measure similarities and dissimilarities between spatial and temporal dimensions. Log-linear analysis goes beyond the initial Chi-square analyses to enable a search for a "good model" that fits the data, which can become a more difficult task when analysing four- or higher-way tables.

Loglinear allows, in effect, for testing independent/main and interaction effects. This approach was appropriate given the research aims outlined at the beginning of the chapter. Identifying how the different offences were committed, required the analysis of statistically significant relationships among three or more discrete variables (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013). All variables were considered response variables; no distinction was made between response and explanatory variables within the analysis. Information about the association structure (i.e., independence, conditional association, and so on) and the direction of associated effects among variables was explored. An odds ratio approach has been adopted, as a convenient and natural vehicle for explication of log-linear analyses (Page, 1977). Findings for the loglinear analyses have been reported using the guidance in Discovering Statistics Using IBM SPSS Statistics by (Field, 2013).

Model for toucherism

The four-way loglinear analysis confirmed a best fitting final model for toucherism offences that retained all effects (see Figure 15). The likelihood ratio of this model was X^2 (0) = 0, p = 1. This indicated that the highest-order interaction (toucherism *location*verbal harassment*offender leaving) was significant, X^2 (1) = 9.08, p<.01. The previous Chi-square tests on the location, verbal harassment and offender leaving variables showed their significant association with toucherism. Odds ratios indicated that the odds of

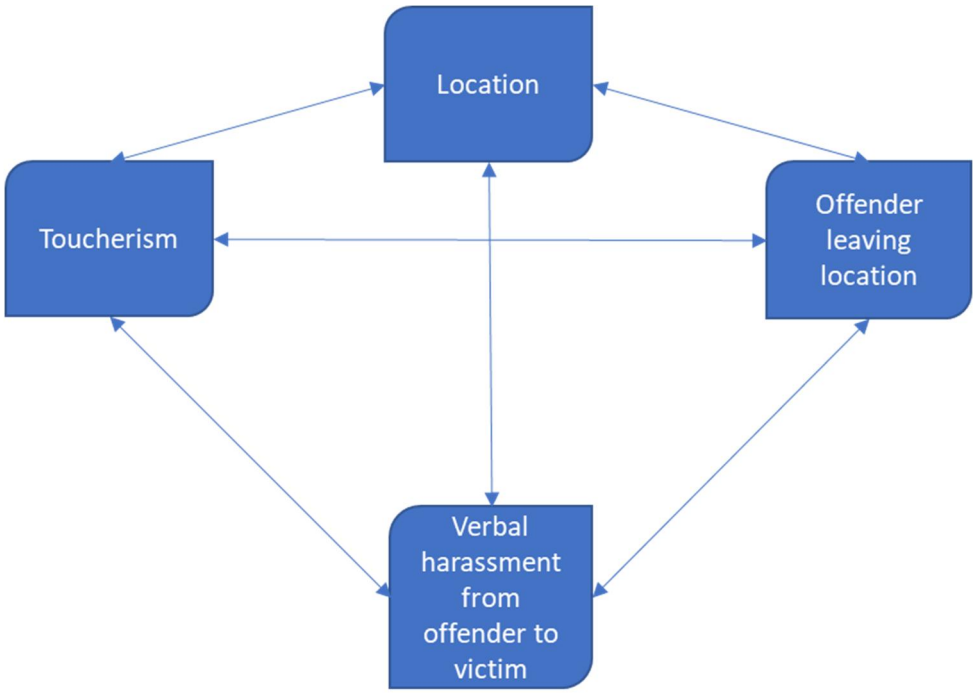


Figure 15- Model to represent the interaction between factors for toucherism offences

perpetrators committing toucherism offences in an off-train location were 2.11 times higher than being on a train. The odds of toucherism were more than twice (2.5 times) as likely if they also verbally harassed the victim, than if no verbal harassment took place. The odds of the offender leaving the offence location having committed a toucherism offence were 1.66 higher than if they had not committed a toucherism offence.

Model for frotteurism

Figure 16 is the final model for the two-way loglinear analysis, the likelihood ratio of this model was X^2 (4) = 54.47 p<.01. The main effects of frotteurism, duration >1 min and following are all significant. The frotteurism*>1 min, >1 min*following and the frotteurism*following are all

significant interactions. Odds ratio indicated that the odds of offences lasting longer than a minute were 2.89 times higher with frotteurism offences compared to other offences. Odds ratio also indicated that the odds of an individual following the victim were 7.83 times higher with frotteurism offences than with other offending behaviour.

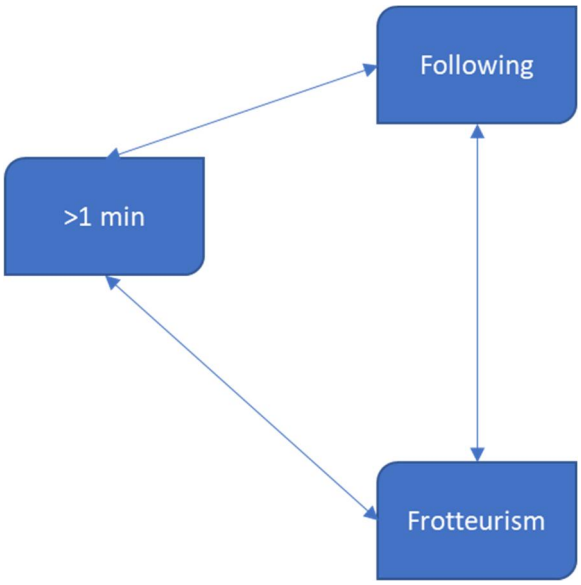


Figure 16 - Model to represent the interaction between factors for frotteurism offences

Model for masturbating

A final model for the two-way loglinear analysis was generated for masturbating (see Figure 17), the likelihood ratio of this model was X^2 (49) = 75.69 p<.01. To break down this effect separate Chi-square tests were conducted for those associations that had not already been analysed. Previous Chi-square tests between these variables demonstrated significant associations between Masturbation*Location and Masturbation*Time. There was a

significant association between location and time, X^2 (4) = 47.72 p<.01, with a small effect size (Cramer's V =.19). Odds ratio indicated that the odds of sexual offences occurring on train during the middle of the day were 0.35 times lower than during the morning rush hour.[50]

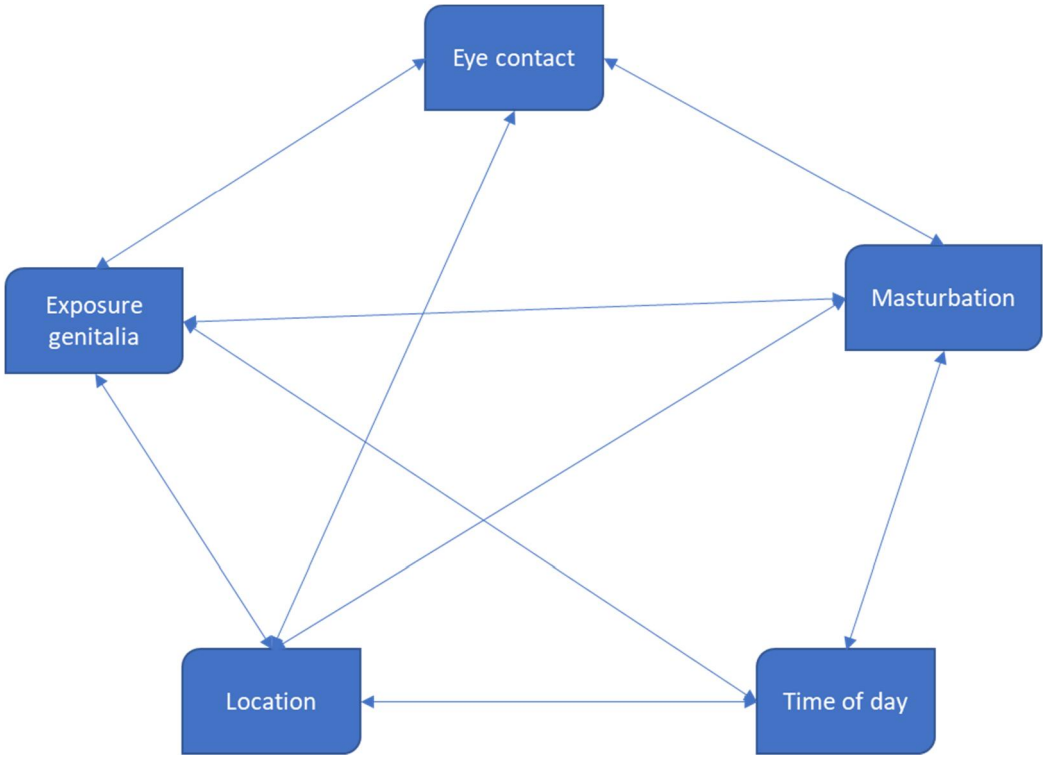


Figure 17 - Model to represent the interaction between factors for masturbation offences

However, this was markedly different for masturbation offences, as the odds were 4.04 times more likely to take place during the middle of the day than during the morning rush hour.

[50] See Table 14

Model for upskirting

The four-way loglinear analysis confirmed a best fitting final model for upskirting offences that retained all effects (see Figure 18). The likelihood ratio of this model was X^2 (0) = 0, p = 1. This indicated that the highest-order interaction (time of day *location*prop*upskirting) was significant, X^2 (4) = 14.22, p<.01. The prop variable was likely to be highly associated with upskirting, as this variable (at least in part) defines the offence – whereby recording equipment is normally required to capture images.

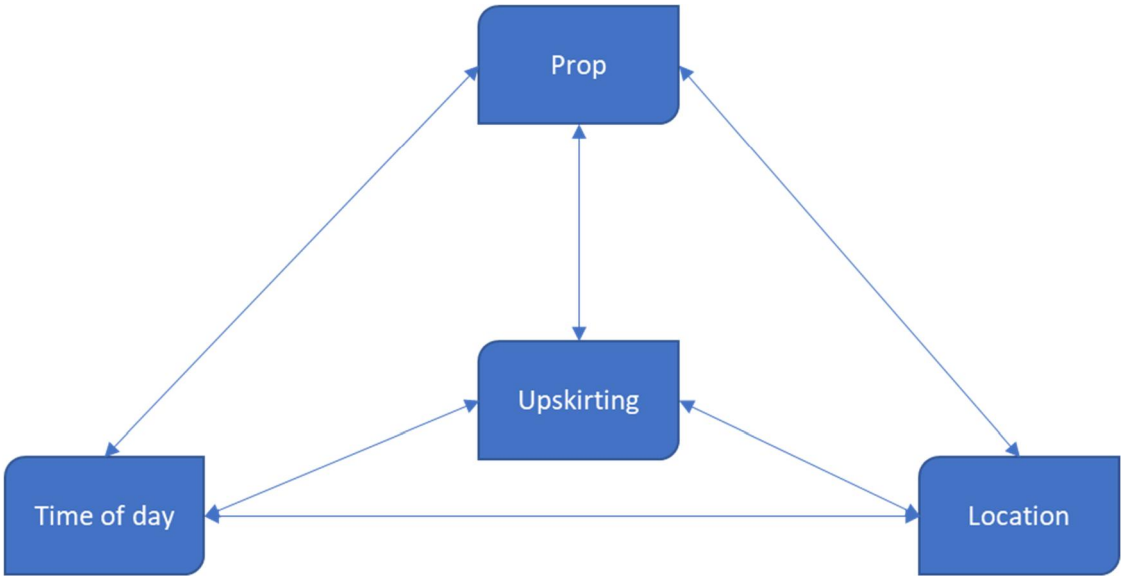


Figure 18 - Model to represent the interaction between factors for upskirting offences

Previous Chi-square tests between these variables demonstrated significant associations. Odds ratio indicated odds that upskirting offences occurred in off train locations 3.07 times higher than in on train locations. Odds ratio indicated that the odds of upskirting occurring in the early hours of the

morning were 8.05 times higher compared to in the morning rush hour.[51] The odds of upskirting in the evening rush hour was twice as likely (2.57) than in the morning rush hour. Therefore, the analysis seems to reveal a fundamental difference between the time of day that individuals choose to commit upskirting: upskirting was more likely to happened during the early hours of the morning or during the evening rush hours than in the morning rush hour or the middle of the day.

Model for exposure

A final model for the two-way loglinear analysis was generated for exposure (see Figure 19), the likelihood ratio of this model was X^2 (43) = 62.14 p<.05. To break down this effect, separate Chi-square tests were conducted for those associations that had not already been analysed. There was a significant relationship between exposure and the time of day the offence is committed, X^2 (4, N=1358) = 37.76 p<.01 . Odds ratio indicated that the odds of an individual exposing themselves during the middle of the day were 7.04 times higher than exposing behaviour during the am rush hour.

[51] See Table 20

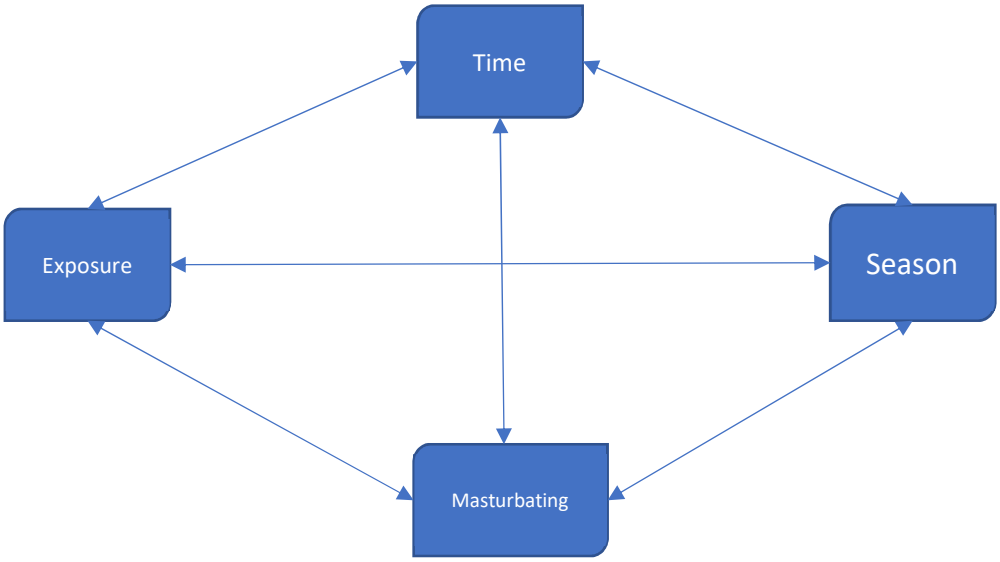


Figure 19 - Model to represent the interaction between factors for exposure offences

6.6 Quantitative summary with qualitative examples

Five types of offences were identified from the main types of sexual behaviours displayed within the data, which corresponded with the distinct groups of behaviours observed by the proactive police officers in Chapter 4. This classification departed from the legal classification of offences to focus more on the grouping of different sets of behaviours which characterised a particular type of sexual offending. In this section, the qualitative material provides illustrative examples for each of these types, to flesh out the critical findings.

Toucherism

Toucherism constituted the most sexual assault offences (57%)[52] and tends not to co-occur with frotteurism. Most toucherism offences lasted less than a minute, which would include a slap or pinch on the buttocks. These offences largely happened whilst travelling around the station and at other off train locations, for example:

> FEMALE WAS WALKING DOWN RAMP LEADING TO PLATFORMS EIGHT TO ELEVEN MID WAY DOWN THE RAMP SHE FELT SOMEONE GRABBED HER LEFT BUTTOCKS AND SQUEEZED IT WHICH CAUSED HER TO TURN AROUND IMMEDIATE VICTIM SAW A MALE TO HER LEFT HAND SIDE BEHIND HER WALKING AWAY FROM HER TOWARDS THE MAIN CONCOURSE.[53]

These type of offences are more likely to happen in off train locations during the rush hour periods when it is busiest. There can also be a persistency in the behaviour during toucherism offences on trains, which will see a continuation of offending behaviour even though the victim will try to prevent further contact. Toucherism offences involve more unwanted communication by way of verbal harassment, generally in the form of sexual comments as opposed to verbal aggression, than the other sexual offence types. Toucherism offences are often characterised by the offender leaving the location making it harder to apprehend a suspect.

[52] See Table 24

[53] Examples of police crime reports have included free text as written, which is why they are provided in capitals.

Frotteurism

Ninety-one percent of offences involving perpetrators using their groin area, occur on board a train. After initially touching the victim with their groin, nearly two-thirds of frotteurism offences included the continuation of the groin area grinding against their victims. Engaging in heavy breathing with their victim is a characteristic of frotteurism behaviour, however, making direct eye contact or communication with their victims is not. Often frotteurism offences continue for more than a minute and perpetrators tend to follow their victim when the victim physically moves away from them, with 73% (*n*=51) pursuing the victim to continue the assault. The following example is a typical victim report:

> FEMALE BOARDED WESTBOUND TFL RAIL SERVICE AT [REDACTED] AT APPROX [REDACTED] ON [REDACTED] . THE MALE SUSPECT HAD BEEN STARING AT HER ON THE PLATFORM. VICTIM IGNORED AND AVOIDED EYE CONTACT WITH THE MALE. THEY BOTH BOARDED THE TRAIN AND THE MALE STOOD BEHIND THE VICTIM PRESSING AND RUBBING HIS GROIN AGINST HER BOTTOM AND BREATHING HEAVILY ON HER NECK AS HE WAS SO CLOSE. VICTIM TRIED TO MOVE AWAY AND THE MALE CARRID ON MOVING CLOSER TO THE VICTIM. THIS CARRIED ON AS FAR AS [REDACTED] . VICTIM ALIGHTED TO [REDACTED] AND MALE DID ALSO. VICTIM SAW THAT LOTS OF PEOPLE ALIGHTED AT [REDACTED] AND MALE WOULD NO LONGER HAVE COVER FOR HIS ACTIONS. VICTIM BOARDED AGAIN AND MALE WALKED AWAY, PERHAPS HAVING REALISED THE SAME. VICTIM WAS SHOCKED AND SHAKEN UP BY HER EXPERIENCE.

Analysis of the data suggested that perpetrators of frotteurism tend to be BME, however, this finding should be approached with caution due to low

numbers[54]. One potential factor is related to the detection of frotteurism and the locations at which proactive police officers target. It could be that, proactive officers are policing in locations that are characterised by an increased number of BME offenders who may be offending within their 'awareness space' and are more routinely present.[55] However, the findings may be due to factors of when offences occur, interacting with where they occur, combined with who is perpetrating them and thus required further exploration.

Masturbation

A third of masturbation offences (34%) involved exposure of genitalia whilst masturbating. Of these five types of offences, those categorised as masturbation were more likely to involve eye contact with their victims. This offence type also lasted for less than a minute and perpetrators were less likely to leave the offence location, which was mainly on board a train. Masturbation offences happened at quieter times of the day, typically in the middle of the day or in the late evening, as in the example below.

> VICTIM WAS ON BOARD TRAIN WITH THE SUSPECT WHEN THE CARRIAGE BECAME EMPTY THE SUSPECT PULLED DOWN HIS TROUSERS AND STARES DIRCETLY AT THE VICTIM AND BEGAN MASTERBATING HIMSELF.

[54] Refer to Table 26

[55] There is anecdotal evidence that BME offenders are more likely to travel on some train lines than others, due to the population characteristics of certain geographic locations. This has informed some of the interpretations, however, there is a lack of statistical evidence to support this at present.

Upskirting

Based on the offender dataset, over half of the upskirting offences (52%) were committed by men categorised in the 45+ age bracket. Whilst this was not significantly different to other offences, there was a trend. Upskirting offences tended to occur in the PM rush hour, with these offences being particularly prevalent during the summer months. The majority of upskirting takes place off the train and are largely facilitated by a prop of some kind that acts as a recording device. Witnesses were more likely to intervene with upskirting offences than with any other sexual offence type, as evidenced in the following report.

> VICTIM WAS TRAVELLING UP THE ESCALATOR AND HAS FELT SOMETHING BRUSH HER LEG, SHE HAS GLANCED BACK AND HASNT SEEN ANYTHING SUSPICIOUS, HOWEVER ONCE THROUGH THE GATELINE AN ELDERLY ARABIC MALE HAS STATED TO THE VICTIM HE HAS WITNESSED A MALE TAKING PHOTOS UP THE VICTIMS SKIRT. VICTIM DOESN'T BELIEVE THIS MALE TO BE THE SUSPECT AS SHE DOESN'T REMEMBER HIM BEING STOOD NEAR HER ON THE ESCALATORS.

Exposure

Exposure offences were more likely to happen in summer (34% of all exposure offences), and like masturbation offences they tend to occur during the quieter periods in the day. Mostly, those committing exposure offences chose to expose themselves on board trains and usually remained at the

offence location. This is an example of a report of an incident that occurred at 3pm on a Thursday afternoon:

> VICTIM WAS APPROACHED BY A FEMALE MEMBER OF THE PUBLIC INFORMING THERE WAS A MALE ON BOARD THE SERVICE EXPOSING HIMSELF. THE FEMALE POINTED OUT THE MALE TO THE VICTIM AND SO VICTIM ALSO WITNESSED THE MALE EXPOSING HIMSELF. THE MALE WAS EJECTED FROM THE SERVICE AT [REDACTED] STATION.

6.7 Discussion

The present study has contributed to the growing body of literature and interest in sexual offending on public transport, specifically in the train environment, as it had previously gone relatively under researched. The purpose of the present analysis was to establish more thorough descriptions of the most prevalent sexual offences that occur on London trains. This chapter sought to achieve this aim by focusing on the following research objectives:

- To identify the relationship between offence type, offence location, geographic location and occurrence time.
- To provide an account of how the different types of sexual offences committed on London trains vary.
- To investigate what BTP data tells us about sex offenders on the London trains.

- To classify whether there are differences demographics between individuals who commit the different types SOLT.

This has been achieved through analysis of a large secondary dataset provided by BTP, pertaining to the three main types of sexual offences occurring between 1st February 2016 and 31st March 2017, with a total of 1359 cases in the population. At present there is a dearth of existing literature that specifically focuses on the when and where of sexual offending on trains, with only one other study with which to compare methods of analysis (Jones, 2016). The empirical findings reported in study 3 provide initial insights and the evidence base for a more detailed understanding of SOLT from crime data.

6.7.1 Spatial and temporal aspect of SOLT

Chapter 2 provided an outline of relevant literature and theoretical frameworks that could be applicable to understanding how SOLT occurs. In particular, the environmental criminological theories (RCP, RAT) emphasised the importance of the temporal and spatial contextual factors in relation to the commission of crime. Therefore, within this chapter, time and space were the key indicators that were examined within the police data. Significant associations were found between the area covered by BTP and the different offence type. Sexual Assaults were more likely to occur on the TfL network in central London, whereas Outraging Public Decency and Exposure offences tend to occur more in the South and East regions which cover suburban

areas. Whilst there was consistency with both the toucherism and frotteurism types of Sexual Assaults being more likely to occur in the TfL region, this was not the same for the different types of Outraging Public Decency offences.

Offences characterised by masturbation tended to take place in locations in the South and East Regions, whereas upskirting behaviours were split fairly evenly across the two areas. Although these offences fall under the same offence category, individuals committing these offences are making different choices about where they carry out their offending behaviour. It would seem that the characteristics of the South and East regions provide an environment which is conducive to committing masturbating offences within the rail network. These regions cover a greater area, have greater distances between stops and are more likely to have less people on the train carriages. The TfL network, on the other hand, is characterised as being more fluid and having a greater density of people particularly at certain hours of the day. The differences between the different types of offences falling under the same classification, yet being associated with different locations, raises some issues which will be discussed below.

In relation to offence location and type of offence, a significant relationship was not found for the Outraging Public Decency category as a whole. Once broken down to look at offences involving upskirting behaviours vs. masturbation, these variables become significantly associated with whether the offence location is on board or off the train. The relationships between

the variables, however, were not in the same direction. Masturbating offences were more likely to occur on board trains, whilst upskirting was more likely to happen at off train locations. Again, the nuances between the preferred locations chosen by individuals committed these offences, show that although the offences are grouped together, the individuals are likely to be making different decisions depending on their environment and whether or not to commit the offences (Clarke & Cornish, 2013).

There was a significant association between Exposure offences and region, which was maintained when focusing on exposing behaviours within offences and location. Individuals prefer to commit exposure in locations that are covered by the South and East regions, which suggests that quieter environments are generally chosen for this type of offence. Perpetrators of exposing behaviours were indiscriminate with their choice of locations, as there was no difference between whether offences occurred off or on-board trains. This suggests that spatial factors may be less important for this type of behaviour. The ability to leave the location appears to be less of an important factor for exposure in comparison with the other offending behaviours. For this type of behaviour temporal aspects was the stronger influence driving behaviour.

There was a notable difference with regards to location and the two types of Sexual Assault offences. Whereas both toucherism and frotteurism offences tended to occur in the TfL region, frotteurism offences were more

likely to occur on board a train whilst toucherism was more likely to take place in off train locations. One plausible explanation for this difference is that perpetrators who touch with their hands, may seek to be in a fluid environment, that lowers the risk of being identifiable and increases the ease in which the location can be left. Those individuals committing frotteurism may find that the environment on board a train provides them with an excuse to invade a women's personal space, especially if the train is crowded. In these circumstances, an individual may not assess the risk of being identified as having severe consequences because they can blame the crowdedness of the train. Alternatively, it may be that individuals finds themselves in the packed train environment in close proximity to a woman, and in that moment loses self-control and proceeds to act in a way to achieve his goal – sexual gratification.

The latter account of 'the situational offender', who is overcome by impulse and a temporary lack of self-control, does not mean that the individual's actions are an unthinking response to the situation (Cornish & Clarke, 2003b). There is still an element of rational calculation as to whether to follow through with the crime in question. This firmly posits that location is a key environmental factor sought by individuals, as a cue to commit frotteurism. This is consistent with the perceptions of police officers who observe these offenders, as reported in Chapter 4. Offender narratives in Chapter 5 also supported the notion that perpetrators sought the right

location on trains in their 'hunting' process to commit frotteurism. This relates to findings by Beauregard, Proulx, et al. (2007) that the nature of environmental variables, such as indoor versus outdoors are important in serial sex offenders' hunting processes.

The peak travel time for the volume of passengers in the morning and evening was significantly related to both toucherism and frotteurism offences. Furthermore, more offences occurring during this time took place in the TfL region on board trains. This interaction between temporal and spatial factors is not surprising and is coherent with the reports by the proactive officers and offenders in the previous chapters. Perpetrators of sexual assaults on trains decide when and where to commit an offence based on the geographic, temporal and spatial elements, as part of the initial crime commission process, similar to that of sex offenders in other contexts (Proulx, Ouimet, & Lachaîne, 1995).

The significant association between time of year and the occurrence of the different type of sexual offences, provides an understanding of how another spatial element potentially influences decision-making. Sexual Assaults offences occurred relatively consistently across the year, although there was a suggestion of an increase in toucherism offences in winter. Whilst there were no seasonal effects for masturbating, upskirting behaviour occurred in the summer and autumn months. The most plausible explanation for this finding is that those months are characterised by less clothing being worn by women

in general, for example, women are less likely to wear tights during June to September than from December to March. This situational factor is likely to influence the decision of a perpetrator to commit an offence at a time when there are fewer barriers to him achieving his goal, e.g. obtaining a picture of underwear up a female's skirt. Similarly, exposing behaviours probably occurs more in the summer months because perpetrators are also wearing fewer clothes in the warmer months, making it easier (and warmer) to casually expose themselves, than in winter months.

6.7.2 The crime commission process

Offences are legally classified and grouped together on the basis that they are alike or 'alike enough' to be put in the same category. Defining crime[56] is not an easy task. Definitions serve to distinguish offences based on severity of offence, acknowledging conduct that threatens harm to individual and public interest, as well as enable the counting of crime (National Academies of Sciences & Medicine, 2016). Yet, the analysis of offences is complex, as shown in the findings reported in this study, which concurs with the notion that definitions of crime *"must be dynamic in nature, because crime is tied to shifts and development in technology, society, and legislation"* (National Academies of Sciences & Medicine, 2016, p. 23). 'Upskirting' offences were

[56] Crime and offence is often used synonymously, for the purpose of this thesis crime refers to a notifiable offence (UK context).

only made possible by invention of small good quality camera devices, such as those found on mobile phones.

Applying the data on Sexual Assault, Outraging Public Decency and Exposure offences by using offence behaviour as the fine-grained unit of analysis, suggests that it would be important to evaluate the current crime classification of sexual offences. The findings in study 3 enabled the co-occurrence of behaviours to be identified within the offence type, which provides a good platform build a more detailed picture for each offence type. The behavioural definitions of offences and how they are commissioned provides a more nuanced account of upskirting or masturbating offences. Thus, the typology for each offence considered here consists of the variety of actions recorded within reports of actual offences (Canter, 1996). This knowledge can be more easily translated into practical application, than the Committing an Act Outraging Public Decency categorisation can afford. The findings in this chapter support the suggestion of reframing the offence types to focus on 'toucherism', 'frotteurism', 'upskirting', 'masturbating' and 'exposing' behaviours. This appears more appropriate for the purpose of understanding the way in which these different behaviours occur and can be tackled.

As highlighted above, the spatial and temporal factors which are present in an environment influence the choices an individual makes in relation to different types of offending. There are also key behaviours that

characterise the five main sexual behaviours that give a clearer understanding of how the offences are committed. Some of these behaviours relate to the offender's decisions, e.g. to follow the victim or leave the offence location, providing information on modus operandi. Therefore, as mentioned in the literature review regarding the composition of crime scripts, it may be more beneficial to illustrate various tracks for the different offending behaviour within the current model. Specific tracks would facilitate the development of focused situational prevention, as they would outline crime-specific details based on offence characteristics (Leclerc et al., 2011).

The nature of offender-victim interaction (or interchange) during a crime influenced the extent to which offenders needed to adopt specific strategies. For example, when a perpetrator of toucherism was confronted with a physical response to their actions, the offender was more likely to leave the location. Therefore, from the outset, the perpetrator is likely to decide where best to commit the offence in terms of having accessible exits, in case the victim physically responds, and he needs to escape. However, this did not seem to be the case for masturbation offences, which suggests the possible need for different tracks within the SOLT model, to elucidate the different intentions, strategies employed and behaviours. It is also of note from a victim perspective, that the results from study 3 corroborated previous findings that there is no reliable or efficacious way of combating sexual harassment (Herrera, Herrera, & Expósito, 2014). Strategies that can be categorised as

'ignore or avoid the harasser', fail to deter harassment, yet they are the coping strategies most often used by victims (Fitzgerald, Gelfand, & Drasgow, 1995; Herrera et al., 2014; Swim & Hyers, 1999). Highlighting the shortcomings of these coping strategies available to victims seems somewhat unhelpful to the commitment to combatting SOLT, however, it informs understanding of the barriers for victims during the offender-victim interaction.

The generated loglinear models for each of the sexual offending behaviour types yielded a few key insights into what behaviours were common to offenders. Although the effects of the associations were largely small to moderate, the findings indicated how an offender's intentions and decision-making were characterised by key behaviours that varied across type of offending. For example, verbal harassment is one way in which the perpetrator can dehumanise the victim, a strategy of 'moral disengagement' that minimises the acknowledgement of the impact of their actions (Bandura, 1990). This level of harassment is often seen by the perpetrator as "flirting," "banter," "joking," "prank," "being friendly" or "harmless fun" (Kelly, 1988). The combination of verbal harassment and toucherism can be viewed as being indicative of more hostile motives for sexual offending. Offending behaviour such as heavy breathing and following with the incident lasting for a longer period, as in the case of frotteurism offences, suggests more sexual motives. One contradiction in the findings within this study, was the eliciting of eye contact with the victim during masturbation, which was different from the

narrative in the previous chapter where this offence characteristic was not present. The importance here, however, is acknowledging that motives interact with the situational and environmental goals, such that the decisions are made on the rational choice of how to achieve the desired goal.

6.8 Limitations of the study

With regards to the statistical analyses, an assumption made for the log-linear analysis was that the cases in the data set are independent. There is potential within the data set for the same suspect to have committed more than one offence. This was not easily identifiable from the current records available, as not all offences were linked to an offender.

One limitation of this cross-sectional approach is the context of the low power (small effects) throughout, which raises the possibility that many of the associations between variables would not remain if modelled over time. It was significant that the dataset did not contain more year on year data, resulting in tentative explanations in relation to the analysis of seasonal effects. This was particularly relevant to upskirting and exposure offences where there was indication that this factor plays an important part in perpetrators' decisions to commit the offending behaviour. Given the current rise in general awareness of upskirting behaviours at the time of this thesis (McGlynn, Rackley, & Houghton, 2017), further year-on-year data would have enabled further analysis of possible increases and/or trends in reporting.

A further limitation in study 3 arose from the restricted categorisation of some of the offence variables. Defining the location variable dichotomously was potentially a constraint. Whilst this categorisation of location served the purpose to identify associations with the other offence related variables, there was a lack of depth, for example, in understanding possible interactions between the different off train locations. A similar constraint may be applicable to the dichotomous categorisation of the BME category which carried some assumptions that BME individuals are a homogeneous group. It is also generally perceived by this categorisation that 'BME' refers only to non-white people, which does not consider white minority ethnic groups. Thus, these labels may be of limited analytical utility. In terms of BME differences in offending, it is not clear whether it is the time, location or who is about when. Given these data are the first available from NicheRMS, which is only for the period of 1 year, these findings need further exploration. Any possible explanations given to explain the association between ethnicity and offence type, should acknowledge cultural viewpoints on collective society and the structural inequalities that exist (American Sociological Association, 2007).

Future research would contribute to the evidence-base by having year-on-year comparisons to validate the findings within this study. Further exploration of the relevant spatial factors pertaining to perpetrators decision-making across the offence types would also refine the development of

situational crime prevention strategies. Given the above limitations in relation the association between ethnicity and offence behaviour, further explanatory research is needed to obtain greater understanding the underlying causes.

6.9 Conclusion

This chapter has provided guidance as to how reframing the current approach can advance understanding of SOLT. Specifically, it has met the aim of contributing to developing a framework which accounts for the individuals and the processes involved in the different types of offences. This chapter adds further credence and validation to the first two studies presented in chapters 4 and 5, fulfilling the objective of triangulating the findings. The revised script will be presented chapter 8, with a discussion on how the script contributes to the theoretical explanation for the crime-commission process of SOLT. The following chapter presents the reflexivity that underpinned the progress in this PhD, which assisted with maintaining a level of objectivity and sustaining focus throughout.

Chapter 7 : Reflexivity

This thesis signifies the journey I have undertaken over the past three years for my research on sexual offences on London trains (SOLT). This time has been dedicated to examining and contemplating the motivations for, and actions of individuals perpetrating this type of sexual offence. Whilst I have previously researched sex offenders as an in-Training Forensic Psychologist, this was in the area of Children's Social Care and intrafamilial sexual abuse of children. I have also previously worked with adolescent sex offenders within the community, so I felt relatively comfortable engaging with sexual offending as a subject area. Thinking about sexual harassment occurring on the train network in particular, this seems to be largely absent from public discourse until the last five years. Thus, it is not a subject that is known or understood to any great extent. There is an identified need for further research to redress this through acquiring insights, which can shift how these types of sexual offences are viewed in society.

My starting point for embarking on this PhD was that I had always harboured a desire to take on this challenge. The opportunity to generate new and/or alternative understanding about the world through research has always been an attractive prospect to me. Admittedly, I did not anticipate that studying sexual offences on the trains would have been my subject area, however, this opportunity came at a time when professionally, I needed a break from my role working with children and families. There were several

aspects of this PhD that appealed to me: the first was its relevance to my life as a female tube-using Londoner; the second was the prospect of exploring this from the offender perspective which has almost certainly not been achieved to this degree; the other appealing aspect was that this applied research would potentially be of practical use to BTP. A final consideration was that it would be something I felt I could achieve, given my family circumstances and the support network around me. I appraised that my situation was stable and was surrounded by peers who were also experiencing their own PhD journeys, which provided common ground for the support we could provide one another.

This chapter journals the continuous process of reflexivity required for conducting qualitative research and research more generally in sensitive subject areas such as SOLT. This reflexive process has occurred throughout the PhD research in the form of a dialogue with the self, which was recorded in a reflexive journal. The level of reflexivity was predominately reflection-on-action as opposed to reflection-in-action (Schön, 1983). The latter was challenging to achieve at certain times, however, it was something I did strive to achieve throughout the research, i.e. avoiding the use of preconceived ideas about what should be done in a particular situation. Key characteristics of this journey were *"process, time constraints, need for stamina, fluctuation in feelings, consideration of wider social issues, taking stock, identification of learning, loss of artistry and the need for pragmatism"* (Glaze, 2002, p. 153). Reflection is more

effective with time, although this is not something that is in abundance when amid PhD research. However, time allows for meta-reflection and a deeper understanding of how practice can be developed (changed) after an event, all of which is important to document. Naturally, the dialogue with the self was influenced by the dialogue with others in supervision, clinical support groups, BTP scrutiny panels and the university panel process. This dynamic interaction is evidenced within my reflexive diary, which promoted these internal dialogues for analysing and understanding important issues within the research project (Glaze, 2002).

7.1 Insider/Outsider

From an early stage in the planning of my research, I identified the benefits of taking an ethnographic approach to study 1 involving BTP proactive police officers. I attended training on ethnography and I first became aware of the insider/outsider concept, which would become relevant to my research experience in this thesis. The notion of insider/outsider and the degree to which I will be invisible (or not) whilst undertaking fieldwork, is something that I reflect on in the section below which considers my research with the proactive police officers. My experiences as a black woman also shaped and framed my research in several ways, for example, my perception of how other minority groups were positioned within the policing environments. Insider status may well have been applied to me by the offenders that I interviewed, as the line between probation and my role as

researcher, operating within the probation sphere, may not have been clear. It would be obvious that I was unlikely to share the experiences of interviewees when they spoke of their inappropriate behaviour towards women.

In the course of my life, I have been the recipient of sexual pestering, some of which I found flattering, whilst other instances were annoying and unwanted. Culturally, I was brought up to not be bothered by the objectification of women - it was just a part of life. I did not consider these behaviours to be street harassment in public places, however, if they were to occur in the workplace, I would most certainly deem it as sexual harassment. I questioned whether holding these views would impact on my suitability for conducting this research. I concluded that recognising my experiences, beliefs and values was necessary, but that my own judgements on what was presented during interview had to be suspended. I was also aware that I came to this research area with little knowledge of the problem. I had not been subject to a sexual offence, whilst travelling on the tube and trains during rush hour (on and off for 15 years), nor had I been aware of this happening to any friends or family. However, since embarking on this research most people, including some men, have talked about how they have experienced a sexual assault on the trains or have known someone who has.

Despite this evidence to support the prevalence of SOLT, exploring perpetrators' experiences did not appear to have been undertaken in the literature I read on the topic. I was able to explore this in a very open-ended

manner with participants, in spite of my prior knowledge, which may or may not have been relevant to this population. As a woman, I would have approached this research with a different perspective to that of a male interviewer. This allows a certain degree of freedom in asking questions, clarifying probes and other items that might otherwise have been overlooked (Lambine, 2015). The quest to gain an in depth understanding of SOLT guided my decision to place greater weight in qualitative approaches over a quantitative approach. Mixed methods research in this thesis, acknowledged the importance and usefulness of both qualitative and quantitative research.

I perceive myself to be a practitioner-researcher by nature of my extensive frontline practitioner experience, as well as the evaluation research I have undertaken. My preference as a researcher, therefore, is in methodologies that describe and develop techniques that bear a resemblance to what practitioners use in practice (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). Even after digesting some of the debate and perceived issues around philosophical position, designs, data analysis, etc. of mixed methods research, it was apparent to me that the inclusion of both qualitative and quantitative research methodologies would meet my needs within this research for several reasons. Firstly, both qualitative and quantitative approaches used empirical observations to address my research questions. Secondly, both methodologies allowed me to describe and construct explanatory arguments from the data and cogitate about why the outcomes I observed happened as they did

(Sechrest & Sidani, 1995). Finally, I needed to incorporate safeguards with both my qualitative and quantitative inquiries, to minimise confirmation bias and improve validity for each of the studies (Sandelowski, 1986).

From the outset, I carefully considered the status of the products of my research and what claims I would be able to make based on them. I wanted to achieve the dual purpose of shedding light on the reality of SOLT, whilst also offering reflections of how offenders tried to make sense of their own and other experiences. I adopted a critical realist position, in relation to the data (such as police officers' accounts) that at face value were a description of the commission of SOLT that actually took place. I took steps to ensure the accuracy and truthfulness of the data generated by making certain that the conditions in which the accounts were produced were favourable (e.g. participants felt free to open up and felt safe and non-defensive). Despite this, I was cautious in presenting my analyses and emphasised that the interpretations I offered were just that - interpretations that symbolised possibilities, not certainties (Frosh & Saville-Young, 2017).

When thinking about the offender accounts, I held a critical realist stance in relation to relativist data (i.e. the offender's constructions). I did not assume that an offender's constructions directly reflected reality, rather the data needed to be interpreted drawing on knowledge, theories and evidence outside of this research to account for what I have observed. Thus, I sought to accurately represent each offender's subjective world (i.e. their

constructions of meaning), which was not intended to be generalisable to a wider population (Willig, 2012). In study 2, I was more interested in intensively studying a relatively small number of individuals to examine subtle interactive processes occurring during the commission of a sexual offence on the London train network. I do not anticipate my findings from study 2 to be exactly replicated in another sample or context, but hope that the insights from SOLT will prove useful in other cities where there are similarities (Yardley, 2015).

7.2 Study 1 – Police ethnography

This study was undertaken in my first year and involved an initial exploratory ethnography with BTP proactive police officers. From a very early stage in the development of this research, I identified study 1 would be a good starting point to learn more about SOLT and the policing response to the issue. I also wanted to simultaneously conduct what is now study 3 (analysis of police records) so that the data had the potential to inform what I did for study 1. However, due to the changes that were occurring within BTP, I was advised to get study 1 completed whilst the sexual offences proactive unit still existed in their current format. It was apparent that using the BTP proactive police officers as a source of data would enable me to learn a great deal and provide the contextual basis for the remaining studies within the PhD. On this basis, I prioritised study 1, acknowledging that I would be triangulating my findings with police records and offender insights as the PhD progressed.

From the beginning of my interactions with the BTP, I became aware of what is often referred to as police 'canteen culture' (Fielding, 1994). This concept was not only alien to me, it was also a long way from the local government working environment which was my point of reference for organisational culture. It was immediately clear that I was an 'outsider', which for all intent and purposes suited me fine as a black woman operating within an institution that by default I would view as having an institutionally racist past.[57] Whilst maintaining a level of distance was afforded to me as an outsider, which would help with upholding a sense of independence from BTP, I was conscious that I needed a degree of connectedness to provide the right environment with which to interact with officers in co-constructing the data.

In my mind, I was unsure as to how proactive officers would perceive me as a black female,[58] as it was apparent from my observations that there were not many like me within the teams. I felt conscious that there is no common shared characteristic – I am not a police officer, I am not male, and I am not white. Consequently, I tended to pair myself with a female officer when I was out on observations, which related to me feeling more

[57] I am aware that this statement may be viewed by BTP and others as contentious, however, I write this 26 years after the death of Stephen Lawrence which frames discussions of racism, both past and present, within the police and wider institutions.

[58] At a time when the intersectionality of being a black woman is being discussed in the wider context, disadvantage in terms of pay, promotion and representation at senior levels is an issue for black women in both public and private institutions.

comfortable in that environment with another female. I did not want this significant decision to impact on the data, so I made a conscious effort in latter observations to make sure that I paired up with all members of the team. Only then could I be more confident that I would have representative, and not skewed, data for study 1. By the time I conducted the group interviews, it seemed to me that although I was still an outsider, there was a level of trust for officers to speak freely. I sensed a shared understanding with the officers that as an outsider I could help communicate their muted voice. Thus, there was implicit co-construction of how it was for officers to deal with SOLT and the challenges they faced, in the interpretation of the data.

My first observation with proactive officers on duty was an insightful experience on many levels. It met the objective of seeing the activity of what happens in the train environment at a different level, namely from a guardianship perspective. I paid closer attention to the rhythm and movement in this environment. I was conscious of how most passengers contorted their bodies to ensure, that even in a crowded environment, they maintain an element of personal space and avoid contacting others. Although this is not always possible, and contact is sometimes unavoidable. On a practical level, I learnt that I needed the right shoes, outer clothing and bag to be comfortable when carrying out this type of research. Standing around can be quite hard work and even though it was cold outside, it was warm underground.

Finally, I appreciated that working as a unit of 5 or 6 was tricky when trying to cram onto a rush hour train in pursuit of an individual. Additionally, communication with each other was difficult, so it was sometimes hard to know exactly what was going on. There were occasions when I had to use my judgement as to whether to pursue or hang back for either safety reasons or not to jeopardise the surveillance operation. A defining feature of covert policing is the imperative to maintain 'cover' of surveillance which influences my ethnographic experience (Mac Giollabhuí et al., 2016). Furthermore, the possibility of being a 'non-participant' observer was null and void, as I have no option but to actively join in with the 'invisibility of the surveillance team' (Mac Giollabhuí et al., 2016).

Despite considering potential risks and ethical issues within study 1, it was impossible to anticipate every eventuality. Two incidents occurred during the ethnographic period that presented challenges to me as a researcher to reflect on. Mac Giollabhuí described an experience during a study when he felt *"weak at the knees"* and realised with a *"shudder"* that he had become the focus of the target suspect in his ethnographic experience (Mac Giollabhuí et al., 2016). I also experienced a similar incident, whereby I froze and panicked when I inadvertently became the potential target of a suspect displaying search behaviour to commit a sexual offence. I recorded the following in my fieldwork diary:

> *"The female officer was alert to my vulnerability and gently pulled me to one side to let the suspect pass and board in front of me. The potential risk was reduced, and I boarded the same carriage as the suspect, but at a safe distance."*

At the point where I believed the suspect was going to target me, I was surprised at my reaction. My heart started racing and I became paralysed. It was really disconcerting at how immobilised I felt.

Was the experience worse because I was anticipating the fear? Would it have been easier if I was an unsuspecting target and the shock would have prompted me to respond the way I had always believed that I would if someone was to touch me inappropriately? I can empathise with when an individual, myself included, is confronted with a situation and may not respond the way they envisioned they would in that given situation. I can see how one might feel disappointed or embarrassed at the lack of action – I felt this to a degree, and I was not assaulted. Due to the level of severity, I was quickly able to overcome those feelings and re-focus on the observation, however, the thought of the incident is a vivid memory and I do remember the sense of fear I experienced when I think of that moment.

It raised the question, how had I mentally and physically coped in the field, and what role did my emotions play in the research process? (Diphoorn, 2013). Undoubtedly, the emotions evoked, experienced and shaped during fieldwork will have influenced the way I act in the field, and therefore, should

not be viewed as obstructive. These emotions form important empirical data that is interconnected to other data and provided me with a deeper understanding of the research setting (Diphoorn, 2013). Yet, I am acutely aware from my experience as a practitioner-researcher that feelings of *"empathetic understanding"* and *"ethic of care"* for participants should be moderated as not to be overly sympathetic (McQueeney & Lavelle, 2017). I endeavoured not to be overly emotional as to lose focus on my critical analysis of data. Emotions are important cues as to what is happening in the social world we navigate as researchers, process of observation, emotional reflexivity and analysis of the data (McQueeney & Lavelle, 2017).

One overlooked issue that arose during my ethnographic research with the proactive officers, was consideration of what would be required of me if I was to observe a sexual offence taking place. When this happened, I did not think I would be called to ask to make a witness statement by the detective sergeant, as part of the investigation process. My first response was to want to be able to help the victim I had seen targeted and ensure that the suspect was held to account. However, I was conscious that I didn't want to engage in an activity that might have a negative impact on the research procedure. For example, on my interpretation and analysis of this event, or if for any reason I did not feel comfortable with providing a witness statement, or attending court, how would this impact on the relationship with the proactive officer in that team? This was a difficult position to be in and was a first test of my

independence as a researcher, however, this was something my supervisory team and I sought advice on, which I reflect on more in a later section.

'Respondent validation' was an important element of study 1, which ensured that participants could give feedback and comments on the analysis (Silverman, 2011). This process is not always appropriate or feasible within research, however, I concluded that the officers would be able to relate to the themes which emerged from the thematic analysis and offered constructive feedback. This was a valuable way of ensuring that the police officers' views were not misrepresented (Yardley, 2015), and proved useful given that my findings were to contribute to recommendations for policy and practice. I was also conscious that there had been major changes within the organisational structure and working practices, therefore having participant feedback allowed me to capture how these significant changes impacted on some of the themes.

Interestingly, there was one contradiction between participants' perceptions and my interpretation of the observable differences between the units within the study. As mentioned in the findings section in chapter 4, participants did not agree with this analysis, which prompted me to review my findings. I considered their viewpoint and why this particular finding did not resonate with them - perhaps they perceived my interpretation as a judgement that some teams were better than others. Overall, I think that my objectivity as an 'outsider' has contributed to this different viewpoint. I also imagine that the different units would generally not be deployed to go out with each other,

therefore, they may not have many opportunities to observe other units proactively policing. I did not need to change my interpretations on the point in question, as it had little impact on the findings reported in this thesis.

During the validation session, the officers agreed with the processes I proposed that a sex offender will go through when committing a sexual offence of the trains. The model was well received, and officers felt that I had encapsulated what they observed well. They reported that the process was helpful to see in that format and they wondered how the process of other offences would map onto this and where would the differences lie. This is also an important point for me to consider, as a good model developed in this area may be applicable to another subject area. I was pleased that my findings were valid and accessible to the participants and that this process added an element of co-creation of the themes that I had interpreted. Despite my reluctance to create visual aids, this experience demonstrated the importance of these aids in engaging an audience when disseminating research and my findings. This was a learning point going forward, especially as this approach appealed to all police officers, both senior managers and those on the ground.

At various times when analysing the data for study 1, I would ask myself whether my findings were starting to go beyond what the literature was pointing to, or whether they were reinforcing what the literature was pointing to. I had interesting data from the officers because I was not too precious about where the ethnography stops, and the interviews start. Therefore, I

allowed things to cross fertilize, resulting in a very rich data source. I acknowledged that although I brought my own knowledge to the research process, I was inductive and cognisant of the literature that was available and how my work fitted into existing ideas. I continued to reflect on the extent to which I was truly inductive, which kept me grounded and ensured that I thought about my research contribution in terms of the impact it would have for BTP as an organisation.

A key point about reflexivity in ethnography that is sometimes missed, is that the reflexivity is not so much about 'me, the ethnographer', it is still about 'them, the participants' (Madden, 2010). Understanding my perspective enlightened the way in which I influenced my research, which created a more reliable portrait of proactive police officers and their accounts of how sexual offences are committed on London trains (Madden, 2010). Reflexivity brought a degree of rigour to the ethnographic process and enhanced the methodological strength of my research endeavours. I was the primary tool of research, who through the nature of becoming an active participant in the conduct of surveillance operations (Mac Giollabhuí et al., 2016), acknowledged the inevitability of my influence on the presentation of a reliable ethnographic account.

Although I talk of ethnography in this study, I do wonder about the degree to which I can call myself an ethnographer. Whilst I have committed my time to working alongside BTP to deal with the problem of SOLT, I

would not say that I have 'walked a mile in another's shoes' (Maruna, 2018). During this research, I did not engage in full immersion in the field and this was not a long-term commitment. Nonetheless, within this short-term ethnography I sought to build theories of human behaviours and attitudes of both the sex offenders who commit crimes on the trains and of the proactive police officers. Reflecting on the demands of an ethnographer, as a researcher with family commitments it is challenging with the competing necessities of family life. I had to adapt to different patterns of work during the period of observation which at times was disruptive to family life. Whilst this was a short-term research study and therefore manageable, I am not sure I would have been able to sustain it for a 12-month period. Ethnography is hard work: there are both exciting and mundane aspects of the work (Mac Giollabhuí et al., 2016), often tedious and almost potentially awkward (Maruna, 2018). Despite these challenges, taking this approach provided a good preliminary understanding of SOLT from a police perspective.

7.3 Study 2 – Offender case study

From the beginning, I knew that study 2 would pose the greatest challenge in terms of gaining access to offenders who were serving community sentences. The first hurdle was encountered when discussing with BTP having access to personal data to facilitate arranging the offender interviews. Initially, I had signed a data agreement as part of my contract and

vetting process to start my PhD at BTP, however, I still needed to sign a memorandum of understanding (MOU) before I could have access to data. I was aware that access to data would be the biggest risk within the research project, therefore, I worked closely with my gatekeeper to ensure things kept moving to ensure the MOU was in put in place as soon as possible. I knew that there would be issues with regards to this matter at various points within the project, however, I did not expect to encounter this barrier so soon. It also highlighted that there can often be internal organisational conflict with regards to the priorities of different directorates, which I would encounter on this journey.

With these factors in mind, I started the process of seeking permission from the university ethics committee and the National Offender Management Services (NOMS) during year 1 of the PhD. It was a lengthy, far from straight-forward process, which sometimes felt as though I was being led down a dead end, before turning around, retracing my steps and trying another avenue. There were times during this process when I felt that I would not be able to proceed, and I became despondent about this study and PhD in general. On a personal level, study 2 and the opportunity to gain insights from offenders was the main driver for this research. Gaining offender perspectives, enables the "why" question to be answered, which is essentially what people are generally interested in. I viewed not interviewing offenders as

a failure, and although the Transfer panel[59] indicated that I still had enough data from the police data to obtain a PhD, this was of little consolation.

With persistence and a little help from people around who could see the merits of my research, I finally obtained approval to recruit offenders. The pool to recruit from was smaller than I had expected. However, I threw all my energy into the process of contacting Offender Managers in a bid to recruit offenders from their caseload that met the criteria. A year from starting the whole process for study 2, I was at the point of interviewing the first offender. I was excited but nervous, all the risk assessments, consideration of ethical issues and experience could only partially prepare me for this research experience. I was fully conscious of the privileged position I was in and felt the pressure to make the most of gaining an understanding of the person in front of me.

Each interview with an offender challenged me in different ways. In the main, it was not an uncomfortable experience for me, which I thought it might have been. More importantly, I was surprised at how the participants seemed free to talk about some of the more personal aspects of their lives. I attribute this in part to my skills and experience in rapport building, but also to the nature of this interview, in which they were free to talk about themselves and their lives to someone who has no past context or future

[59] The Transfer panel is a internal process at Middlesex University which is held at the 18-24 month stage to approve that the candidate can transfer from MPhil to PhD. There is an independent chair and internal examiner present to review the progress of the research.

involvement. I do not doubt that participants were aware of being interviewed within the probation offices, which would have context for the way in which they presented their accounts. Just as I sat there as the interviewer with my values, judgement and beliefs trying not to let them influence the way I conducted myself, the interviewees will also have had their own perceptions of me and my motives. I will never be privy to this information, nor will I ever know how my being black and female, for example, had an impact on what they chose to share during the interviews.

There were some interactions within the interviews which needed a deeper level of processing and reflection on how it may have influenced my interpretation of the narrative account provided. This following is an extract from my field diary relating to the first interview that I conducted:

> *"As the interview was concluding, the participant asked me "do you think I can make a success of my life?" in a way that revealed his vulnerability. I could see a look on his face which seemed to be pinning hopes on my response. I understood the importance of answering carefully because I didn't want to give my opinion. Ethically, it is not my role as a researcher, but also how could I give an informed opinion after only meeting him on one occasion for an hour? I was also conscious that he had given an hour of his time and spoken about personal things, therefore, I didn't want to appear dismissive in my response. I rephrased all the coping strategies he had talked about during the course of the interview and framed it in the context of what we know about desistance from research. I responded in a way that was honest, non-judgemental and didn't give an opinion."*

This was a complex interaction, firstly it highlighted the power imbalance that was present – he was not asking me as a friend, as we did not have that relationship. He saw me in a position of authority, and I felt an enormous duty to ensure that I did not give my opinion on his likelihood of desistance. As Karnieli-Miller, Strier, and Pessach (2009) observed:

> *"These ethical and methodological dilemmas lead to a continuing struggle to find a way to create power relations that balance the building of a respectful relationship between researcher and participants."* (p286)

It felt difficult to be in a position where I was not able to give something back, and it was different to the perspective I adopt as a practitioner, where relationship building is considered the vehicle for change or rehabilitation. I was conscious that I felt sorry for this offender and was sympathetic to his circumstances.

What then followed in the interview was another interaction, which affected me in a quite different way, which could have influenced my interpretation of the participant's narrative.

> *"After this, the conversation was coming to an end, but he asked me if I was married. This caught me by surprise, and I stuttered slightly before giving the answer yes. He picked up on that and said he knew I was, and I responded "yeah, the ring probably gave that away". I was left feeling a bit annoyed that he chose to throw me in that way - it was almost as if he was doing it for the 'thrill of it'. It felt as though he was trying to exert some power and control over me by trying to embarrass me and make me feel*

uncomfortable. I concluded the interview, gave him the debrief sheet and thanked him for his time."

The above extract from my fieldnotes, describes how I was offended by the participant's actions, which provoked feelings of annoyance. I discussed this matter briefly with my supervisory team and explored alternative meanings, which I had not considered. We talked about the fact that he might have wanted to know something personal about me having spent the past hour revealing his personal experiences and he viewed this as a simple trade off. Alternatively, it could be a case of him not knowing how to end the conversation and coming out with this question. They also agreed that it could have deliberately tried to throw me or regain a sense of control. Thinking about alternative explanations made me feel less annoyed and made me question why I had interpreted his actions in the way I did. I surmised that I had certain expectations of how the interview would line up with what I considered to be normal conversational endings, but this did not follow the convention.

There were, of course, other interactions with participants which left me feeling out of sorts. On one occasion, the offender stated that perhaps women 'enjoy' being sexually assaulted because they did not say anything or respond at the time. I felt that this was not something I could challenge during the interview, as it would surely shut him down. I, however, did feel incensed at his assertion. On reflection, this could have been something that I

addressed in the debrief after the interview, as part of this process allowed me to challenge some of these myths and provide reasons as to why that view is harmful. Yet, how exactly do I convey this in a non-judgemental way? Is there a way of being less direct and saying, "what you did is wrong; women do not enjoy being sexually assaulted whilst on their way to work or meeting friends or just going about their daily business!" I had to reconcile these feelings through the reflexive process and ensure that my values and feelings were not prominent in the interpretation of this narrative.

Throughout the analysis of the interviews, I was personally committed to presenting the study and its aims in a clear and open way. My analysis was shaped by my interactions with participants, therefore, emotional reflexivity improved my interpretation by understanding these participants through self-reflection (Kleinman & Copp, 1993). I provided rich description of the context, process and my own values and experiences which guided my interpretation and presentation of data (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2005). For example, my analysis of the offenders' narratives was supported by the offenders' own words to evidence my interpretation. This approach minimised distortion of the meaning of the participants' voices and ensured that my voice did not dominate the analysis. A limitation of the analysis was that I did not conduct a validation session with participants, like the one in study 1, to verify my interpretation of the data. This was a conscious decision, as I deemed that it would not be feasible to present the themes back to the

participants at this stage. This was primarily due to the practicality of arranging a second session, but also because it would have been an immense challenge feeding back to those who have offended, who were so difficult to get to in the first place. Also, the nature of completing a more engaged, critical case study analysis for each would have been incredibly challenging and potentially even risky for me.

During the planning stages of study 2, I had given thought to the emotional labour that would be involved in this PhD, but I had perhaps not evaluated how I would manage my emotions to achieve the research goals. Råheim et al. (2016) highlighted that shifts occur in "superior" and "inferior" positions in researcher-researched relationships, in which ethical dilemmas and vulnerability surface on the part of the researcher. The subject matter alone is emotionally charged; add to these feelings of vulnerability, of being manipulated and of disbelief, it had a huge impact on me during study 2 and 3. In addition to sessions with my supervisors, I had received clinical support throughout this PhD in order to explore my thoughts and feelings and the impact on my personal life. I came to understand that when I felt stuck with the analysis of offender transcripts, I needed to acknowledge that this was a consequence of processing emotionally sensitive topics. The development of this understanding about myself through the practice of continuous reflexive awareness was paramount (Råheim et al., 2016).

7.4 Study 3 – Police records

Once the relevant access to data agreements were in place, study 3 was relatively straightforward. A dataset was made readily available which was useful for providing information about sexual offences that had been reported to BTP. Although I elected to adopt quantitative methods in this study, I was not a 'neutral' researcher because of my use of SPSS for data analysis (Ryan & Golden, 2006). I made decisions regarding how the data were analysed, based on my assumptions. This was most significant when undertaking my coding for the content analysis of the victim reports, for example, decisions to code items based on my interpretation of study 2 findings. Whilst reflexivity in study 3 could be seen as misplaced, adopting a reflexive approach to quantitative research also recognises the sensitivity of the topic and emotional labour of reading through all the victim reports of sexual offences (Ryan & Golden, 2006).

7.5 Objectivity/research independence

Maintaining my independence during my PhD research despite being funded by BTP was highlighted as a potential challenge from the outset. This was an important aspect that I regularly needed to reflect and acknowledge, to maintain the originality of my research and ensure it did not become an evaluation for the BTP. Furthermore, I needed to safeguard the academic aspect of the research, i.e. the theory knitting and bringing new approaches

into the field. I achieved this by attaining a level of objectivity in my relationship with BTP, making clear my role as a researcher doing academic work within the research process. I reflected on this in my methodology throughout the lifespan of my PhD in my reflexivity diary, pertaining to my relationship with the data and BTP's relationship with the data. This addressed issues such as what happens if they did not like some of my results, ownership of data etc.

When I spoke to some of the proactive officers, they were concerned about the type of profile that I might find on offenders, as to how that might be portrayed politically. This related to my findings in study 3, as officers seemed aware that BME (Asian) were disproportionately picked up for offences. I responded by saying that my focus was not on profiling as such, it was on understanding the behaviour of individuals committing sexual offences and identifying patterns and sequences which could help with crime prevention. I acknowledged that my analysis would look at some descriptive information about the population, as this is standard in the academic environment. Their concerns, however, raised the question for me about whether this profile was what directly or indirectly informs who they might observe when on duty. How had their experience not created a bias or stereotype? This example illustrated how I needed to maintain my independence as an academic, even if it meant the reporting of data which may be politically sensitive.

This was a recurring issue, as during a meeting with the BTP gatekeeper, I was given feedback that there were some areas that would need amending due to the sensitivity of the issues being discussed. During the meeting, I gained a clearer understanding of how to ensure that my presentation adhered to an appropriate level of sensitivity and did not provide such a negative picture of BTP. I was worried that those who reviewed it may have thought that I was being overly negative about BTP as an organisation, but this was not my intention, as I explained to them. At certain times during my PhD, it was a hard line to tow in terms of maintaining independence and objectivity, to ensure that I did not alienate BTP as my sponsors. However, it forced me to make decisions based on my integrity – what I was willing to concede and what I felt needed to be conveyed from the data.

Naturally I was mindful of my independence with the wider stakeholders at BTP. When presenting updates of findings, I steered conversations to the recommendations section, to judge whether I had pitched it right. This was of importance to me for two reasons; firstly, I wanted to ensure that I was able to strike the right balance of achieving the required academic standard, whilst also translating it into meaningful implications for BTP, who sponsored my work. Secondly, I wanted to demonstrate that I was a critical friend, who could give honest and fair feedback, based on my research. This required balancing both positive and negative findings constructively, providing a platform for stakeholders to

address the issues raised. Being a critical friend validated my endeavours to maintain my objectivity and independence, an area I have been mindful of for the duration of my PhD.

7.6 Conclusion

The reflexivity discussed in this chapter concerns thoughtful, analytic self-awareness of my experiences, reasoning, and overall impact throughout the research process (Råheim et al., 2016). I was honest about how, where and by whom the data were collected, paying attention to my role in the dynamic interrelationship of the research process (Ryan & Golden, 2006). I have reflected on the role of knowledge production, paying attention to the power imbalance between parties and the 'insider/outsider' role of the researcher when constructing knowledge. I also used my reflexivity to park some of the data and my interpretations that went beyond what was said or cannot be said because it would reveal the identity of an individual. The research process was by no means perfect and I identified areas where perhaps, in hindsight, I would have taken a different course. I conclude, however, that for studies within this thesis, I have taken all precautions to mitigate my own potential biases on the findings presented in the preceding chapters. I am confident that my work provides a solid foundation for further research on SOLT, which can continue beyond this thesis.

Chapter 8 : Discussion

This thesis focused upon addressing the research question – 'in what manner and why do individuals commit sexual offences on London trains (SOLT)'. This overarching question guided the three aims of the thesis: to produce a detailed descriptive account of the phenomenon; to seek offenders' perspectives, understanding how they make sense of themselves and their actions as perpetrators; and to propose a newly created theoretical explanation for these types of sexual offences. The studies conducted within this thesis entered ground-breaking territory from which to examine SOLT, which offered insights to the development of crime prevention measures for law enforcement agencies. This chapter will outline and evaluate how successful the thesis has been in achieving these aims, as well as discuss the overall findings with implications for future research.

8.1 Research Aim 1: Producing a detailed descriptive account of the phenomenon

The first major aim of this thesis was to develop an understanding of the nature of sexual offences that occur in and around the train environment. The crime script created from the triangulation of research findings for SOLT in this thesis is presented in Figure 20. The initial term SOLT was used as an umbrella term for all sexual offences that occurred under the jurisdiction of BTP, however, this concept was reviewed and refined throughout the studies

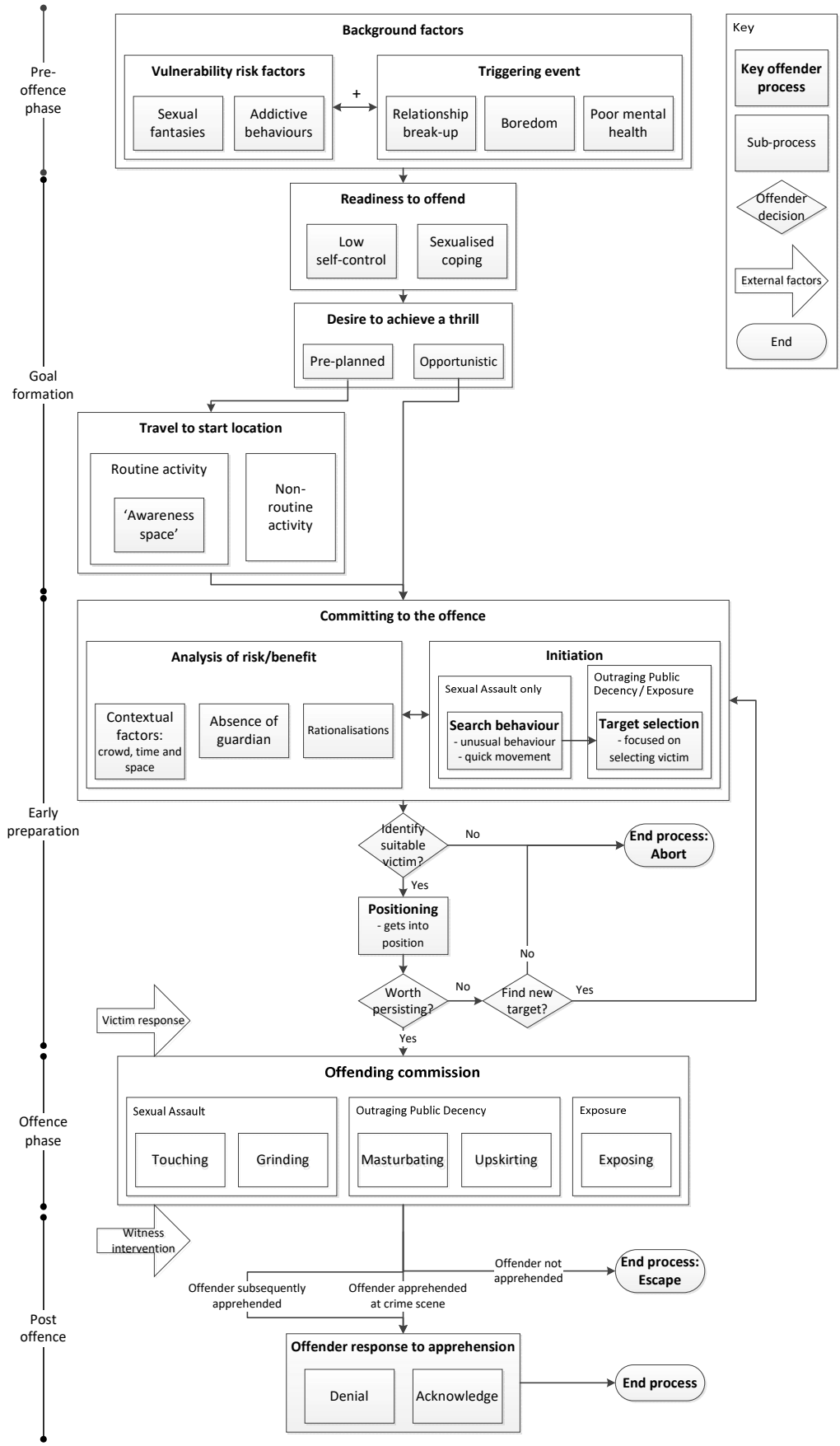


Figure 20 - Crime script for SOLT

as the descriptive crime script was developed. The level of crime script needed to have a degree of specificity that would prove useful for situational crime prevention purposes; therefore, the focus of the script was on Sexual Assault, Committing an Act Outraging Public Decency and Exposure offences. Although offence processes were variable, the finer details presented in study 1 were useful in summarising similarities to help reduce the heterogeneity of these processes (Polaschek & Hudson, 2004). Whilst the crime script was developed with situational crime prevention (SCP) in mind, it also informed thinking relevant to intervention, which is explored later in the chapter.

Research to date, has failed to look at the population of sexual offenders who choose to offend on the trains, with most offence models relating to rapists, serial sex offenders, child abusers and more recently online sex offenders (Beauregard, Proulx, et al., 2007; Beauregard, Rossmo, et al., 2007; Kloess, Hamilton-Giachritsis, & Beech, 2017; Ward, Louden, Hudson, & Marshall, 1995). It was obvious from the outset that sexual offences in the train context did not comprise certain characteristics such as violence or grooming, that were pertinent to the existing sex offence process models. There would be clear problems in simply assuming that sexual offences on trains are the same as that of other types of sexual offending and importing explanatory and descriptive theories to explain its progression. Although not specifically developed from offenders themselves, the preliminary crime script

from police observations in study 1, provided a starting template with which to explore sexual SOLT.

The first approach taken to understanding the offence was to ask proactive BTP police officers, tasked with policing SOLT, how they perceive and understand the broad context of sexual behaviours on the trains. It emerged that they had a clear and consistent good understanding of what kind of sexual offending occurred on trains and the associated behaviours displayed by offenders. The accuracy of proactive police officers' understanding of SOLT can only be judged by the triangulation, which was undertaken in the subsequent chapters. It was noted that their knowledge from being 'experts by experience' was comprehensive for Sexual Assault offences, but less detailed for other offences such as Exposure. Analysis of the BTP police officers' accounts provided the outline of the crime script for SOLT, consistent with the rational choice perspective (Cornish & Clarke, 1986). The main constraint of the initial script was the lack of detail concerning the pre-offence phase, which the proactive officer could not account for. This was subsequently remedied by the additional data gained in study 2, which enabled revisions of the model to incorporate background factors and goal formation before an individual enters the train environment. Furthermore, study 3 added further details concerning the spatial and temporal factors relevant to the final version of the SOLT crime script.

Based on the exploratory analysis of police officers' accounts and observations, initial stages in the offence crime-commission process were proposed. These stages accounted for five types of sexually offending behaviour (toucherism, frotteurism, masturbating, upskirting and exposing) and the sequence of events relating to a sexual assault, required instrumental decisions and actions from the offender. Elucidating the complexity of each stage of the SOLT crime script was essential to the utility of the script for crime prevention or other purposes. At the initial point in the inquiry, the disparity between offence categorisation and the sexual offending behaviours identified was apparent, in that the five types of offences were subsumed under three offence categories. This was appraised throughout the thesis to see how the categorisation of the sexually offending behaviours impacted on the quality of the crime script produced.

A key development of the SOLT crime script after study 1 was formation of the pre-offence phase relating to the defining properties of the offender pathway. Both the vulnerability factors and the triggering events emerged from the offenders' perceptions of their lifestyle, including current adult relationships, work, general mood state and unresolved conflicts from childhood (Ward et al., 1995). Readiness to offend is presented as a result of the interaction between vulnerability risk factors that might be present in an individual and a triggering event (Cornish & Clarke, 2003b). The readiness to offend stage is derived from low self-control and sexualised behaviour

following the triggering event and influences the affective state of an individual. The affective state of an individual influences their desire to achieve a thrill, either as a temporary escape from their current negative affective state or to satisfy their need for sexual arousal in a positive affective state. Within this part of the script, there may be a pre-planned process as to how an individual may achieve a thrill, alternatively this might be opportunistic, or at least implicit, whereby the individual takes advantage of what they perceive as an opportunity.

In the desire to achieve a thrill stage, motivation and opportunity are not mutually exclusive; both can bring both offender and victim together in time and space. It is argued within this thesis, that a focus on situational motivation in the committing to the offence stage has greater value, as an individual may or may not arrive at a situation/opportunity motivated to offend. That is not to say that the factors that may predispose an individual to become a motivated offender are not important. It is more an agreement that background factors and *"other and earlier choices and decisions in the offender's life have traditionally been considered to be the major factors responsible for readying the individual to offend"* (Cornish & Clarke, 2003b, p. 50), however, it would be situational factors that influenced the final decision. The distinction in the present research between opportunistic and predatory offenders finds some support in previous research within the wider sex offending literature (Beauregard, Proulx, et al., 2007).

As previously mentioned, there is merit in addressing complexity within the different stages of a script, thus, it would be remiss to jump to situational motivation factors at the expense of critiquing the facets of individual motivation. Offender narratives suggest that motivational factors were mainly intrinsic but were also sometimes extrinsic. One the one hand, obtaining a thrill was the main intrinsic motivational factor for sexually offending on the train. Yet, it often interacted with or was driven by other behaviours, such as addiction or sexual fantasies. The literature in chapter 2 discussed the concepts of toucherism and frotteurism as paraphilic disorders, noting the inappropriateness of using these terms in a diagnostic manner within this thesis. Given the prominence of the sexual fantasies and addictive behaviours as risk factors in the model, further exploration of the role that paraphilias have within the crime commission process of SOLT is merited. Conversely, for some offenders the motivation came from extrinsic factors such as acknowledgement or recognition of their offending on online platforms. This source of feedback acted as reinforcement and contributed to the decision to continue to offend. Understanding the different motivations within individuals can inform the formulation of subsequent crime prevention measures which will be discussed later in the chapter.

Offender accounts of their travel to start location were generally observed to adhere to routine activity theory (RAT) principles. Overall, the offenders interviewed tended to offend on the way to or from work. There

were only a few occasions when offenders sought other locations to offend, but they generally remained in their 'awareness space' (Brantingham & Brantingham, 1995). There were practical benefits to studying the spatial and temporal distribution of an emerging crime type within the studies. Findings contribute to recent research incorporating the RAT approach, which has primarily focused on places, paying attention to the nature and spatial-temporal dynamics of sexual crimes against women while in transit (Ceccato & Paz, 2017). Consistent with the idea that crime does not occur in a vacuum, it encompasses the daily routine activities and habitual movements of individuals; transportation nodes such as train stations become special places that bring people together, which can lead to crime. The police crime data provided evidence of how the transit environment can be a *"fertile territory"* for sexual harassment (Ceccato & Paz, 2017).

Consideration of contextual factors within a certain environment may be conducive to committing a sexual offence, such as making early preparations and committing to carrying out the offence. Many recent studies have shown (Ceccato & Paz, 2017; Madan & Nalla, 2016; Natarajan, 2016) that crowded rush hour environments offer more favourable opportunities for groping and other inappropriate USBs. These findings were partially replicated by the analysis of police data on recorded crimes in study 3, through the analysis of temporal and spatially related variables. Other studies (Ceccato, Wiebe, Eshraghi, & Vrotsou, 2017; Gekoski et al., 2015; Hewitt &

Beauregard, 2014) established that alternative spatial environments, e.g. an empty train in the late evening, may provide the anonymity needed for an offender to commit a rape; this also seemed largely applicable for masturbation and exposure offences within the train network. As expected, sexual offences "*follow crime-specific spatial and temporal patterns determined by the conditions of the transportation system, at particular hours of the day, days of the week and seasonally"* (Ceccato & Paz, 2017, p. 213).

The offender narratives in study 2 validated the importance of 'awareness and activity spaces' and supported the notion that offenders restrict their target search to their 'anchor points', which are places of familiarity (Brantingham & Brantingham, 1995). These included frequently used train stations and the lines of travel connecting these anchor points. Whilst it is not possible to extrapolate from the police data whether offenders repeatedly use the same geographic space, the accounts from offenders suggest that they choose stations, trains and lines that they know well. It is within reason to assume that many of these locations would be considered 'crime generators' due to being tube line or station interchanges (Brantingham & Brantingham, 1995). It cannot, however, be assumed that the increase in volumes of people is enough to provide the right environment as the appropriate concentration of people is just as important. Brantingham and Brantingham (1995) proposed that crime may often be high in situations and locations where people feel safe and express little fear. Although this cannot

be answered from the offence reports in police data, fear of situation and location does not appear to be a relevant factor, above and beyond the general issues and challenges affecting women's unobstructed movement around the city (Loukaitou-Sideris, 2016).

Including opportunity in the model recognises the extensive theoretical and empirical literature that supports the temporal and spatial elements of criminal opportunity (e.g. Bowers & Johnson, 2005; Sherman, Gartin, & Buerger, 1989). The choice of location providing the best opportunity to offend, is not only associated with the motives of the individual, but also relates to their appraisal of the rewards in finding a suitable target versus the risks of offending in the chosen location. Primarily the assessment of the benefits for sexually offending at chosen locations on the train network, outweighed the perceived risks for a number of reasons. Firstly, as described above, there were many locations, such as busy interchange stations or quiet end of the line stations that provide the right environments for the different types of offending. Secondly, there was an absence, be it physical or otherwise, of capable guardians who can offer guardianship of potential victims.

On a crowded tube train, this absence of capable guardians comes in the form of passengers locked in their own world, with little or no willingness to engage with their immediate surroundings. Understanding the proximal situational causes of crime were easier to both identify and manipulate than

the more distal causes relating to offending identified by offenders. Just as the opportunity to commit crime is temporally and spatially patterned, so too is the opportunity to prevent it (Tillyer & Eck, 2011). These insights have the capacity to guide efforts focused on deterring offences from occurring, rather than the more reactive approach of post-conviction offender management.

The search behaviour stage was the second point at which the script diverged depending on the offending behaviour. This stage was generally not applicable for most instances of upskirting, as well as masturbation and exposure offending behaviour unless they co-occurred with Sexual Assault offences. The search behaviour stage showed parallels with the hunting process proposed by Beauregard, Proulx, et al. (2007), which can assist in some circumstances, in determining which crime locations are the best predictors of an offender's anchor point. This alluded to the benefits of geographic profiling, which is beyond the remit of this thesis. Case linkage of this nature,[60] the linking of crimes into series, requires a greater volume of linked crime data to enable accurate predictions (Rossmo, 2005; Slater, Woodhams, & Hamilton-Giachritsis, 2015; Woodhams & Grant, 2006; Woodhams et al., 2019). BTP proactive police officers were already alert to this nature of the search behaviours for individuals looking for a suitable

[60] Also referred to as crime linkage

target to commit a Sexual Assault offence, thus, findings from study 1 provide further validation of their current detection strategies.

The target selection stage is relevant to all offenders committing SOLT. The findings were supportive of the notion that offenders exercise some degree of rational choice. Their selection of one target over another, within a socio-spatial context, will be defined by the subjective value of the target (Deslauriers-Varin & Beauregard, 2010). Offenders decide to select one target over another based on making observations of specific targets, in quite an overt manner, and/or based on a combination of different environmental cues that constitute 'specialist knowledge' in target selection (Deslauriers-Varin & Beauregard, 2010). For example, there needs to be the right density of people going up an escalator to enable an offender to select an appropriate target and commit an upskirting offence. Consistent with previous empirical findings, study 2 supports the explanation that the suitability of a particular target can be explained by several factors, for example the anticipated success rate, or potential "payoff" (Cornish & Clarke, 1986). Whilst not made explicit in narration, in the final stage of target selection (i.e. choosing a victim), it is likely that offenders relied on learned responses to visual cues at the scene of the offence location to discriminate between potential targets (Nee & Meenaghan, 2006).

The initiation stage was where the offender made the decision to commit the offence. Offender narratives suggested that the cost/benefit risk

assessment tended to be completed habitually using heuristics in a time-saving manner (Nee & Meenaghan, 2006). Although the thrill of potential behaviour would have driven the preceding stages, it was a decision calculus that governed the initiation stage to exploit the crime opportunity. The findings were not able to illuminate the degree to which offenders were versatile when it comes to the way they select their victim and commit their crime. The focus on the offence and not the offender will, however, enable a range of options and interventions to be identified that were previously neglected into the policy and situational prevention arenas (Deslauriers-Varin & Beauregard, 2010).

Across the three studies, the overall findings have contributed to understanding the different types of sexual offending that occur in the train environment. This led to the identification of the key offence characteristics in the offending behaviour stage of the crime script. Critical evaluation of the different types of offending behaviours encompassed under the offence types, provided discussion regarding the benefits of focusing on offence behaviours and not offence types. The presented script analysis allowed the units of crime occurrences, which are interconnected, to be identified to obtain a picture of the important elements of offending behaviours. Even though the actual sequence of activities that an individual completed may vary from day to day, the core activities that make up the offence were likely to remain the same (Hancock & Laycock, 2010). The decision to focus on the most frequent

sexual offences reflected the increase in the reporting of these offences and identified need for impact.

Similar to other types of sexual offenders, there were differences which distinguished between the types of offence committed. The analysis of police data gave an indication of the relationships between offending behaviour and different offence variables, which was helpful to explore the similarities and differences between the offences. Sexual assault offences were either committed by individuals using their hands or using their groin area. The data suggested that toucherism offences were potentially a quick slap/pinch on the buttocks, as opposed to frotteurism offences which were longer in duration and more persistent. On the one hand, the former suggests a more hostile motive for the offending, whereas the latter is more suggestive of being driven by sexual motives. On the other hand, the persistence could certainly be read as being more hostile and intimidating by the victim, and each could be arousing in different ways to the person offending (Diehl, Rees, & Bohner, 2012). The findings also provided some information about the ways in which offenders sought to minimise the risk of being caught. This ranged from pre-planned modification of props to minimise the risk of their offending behaviour being detected to having accessible exits from the offence location.

In terms of the final response to apprehension stage, this was useful for understanding the degree to which the offenders relied on post-hoc rationalisations to explain their behaviour, or whether these rationalisations

facilitated their offending behaviour. The benefits of compiling this information in the long term could assist profiling of offenders, as it is these characteristics that are likely to indicate the offender's psychological mental state. This stage also allows an examination of what contributed to the offender being apprehended, for example, whether a victim raised the alert regarding the offence, or a witness intervened, which could inform crime prevention intervention at this point. Bringing aspects of the offender into the equation more fully, reflects the view of behaviour as an interaction between person and situation and offers the potential for enhanced targeted crime prevention strategies (Donkin, 2014). It is also equally as important to look at the successful avoidance of apprehension, to develop understanding of what factors increase whether the offender goes undetected having committed a sexual offence.

8.1.1 Practical implications for BTP as law enforcers

A further task was achieved within this thesis, with the investigation of SOLT from a crime controller's perspective, which extended the boundaries of script analysis. Scripting the BTP proactive officers' actions and decisions when intervening in the crime-commission process of SOLT, is relevant to efforts in preventing this form of crime (Leclerc, 2014). The script analysis allowed factors to be identified that impact on the intervention of the proactive officers, risking the successful completion of their script (which is preventing an offence being committed by an offender). The combined

findings from study 2 and 3 about the offence behaviours of offenders will contribute to the learning and training of both proactive and non-specialist officers. This will ensure they have sufficient knowledge of search behaviours of individual potential offenders, which may increase the efficiency of officers identifying the right people. This is an important development in the use of scripts, as it takes into account police officers as a third party present at a crime event and who could have an impact on the detection of offences and apprehension of offenders (Leclerc, 2014).

The scripts have a distinct advantage of potentially contributing to higher detection rates as police officers identify and follow the right individuals who commit sexual offences. Given the climate in which resources within BTP (and all police forces) are a constrained, tools which can maximise police officers' effectiveness in relation to policing SOLT have real operational value. Mobilising greater use of CCTV and body worn cameras in the pursuit of offenders is another area in which the controller and crime script can make further gains. CCTV can be better utilised on trains and platforms to identify search or actual offending behaviours in a more focused way. There was also the possibility in the use of super-recognisers being beneficial in these endeavours, to maximise efficiency in a data rich world. The focused identification of offenders who have displayed suspicious, potentially search behaviours in 'hotspots' could also contribute to proactive policing.

Caution should, however, be applied to the targeting of CCTV within crime prevention based on the associations presented from study 3. The finding that significantly more masturbating offences occurred in South and East regions than in the London (TfL) region, was a weak association which over time may disappear. If it was an association that persisted, then it would be worth subsequent follow up, such as were there cameras in London? Was CCTV not being fully utilised in the South and East regions? What are the staffing levels and/ or passenger levels in each of the regions? But if not, it could be attributed to random variation and, therefore, not merit increased use of CCTV. Whilst the data analysed in Chapter 6 provided the spatial and temporal context for the sexual offences, further exploration is required to validate the significance of the associations to justify the use of CCTV to strengthen formal surveillance in potential opportunity-reducing strategies.

It is worth remembering, within the SCP context, that not all strategies are applicable for each of the sexual offending behaviours or the location in which they take place. This may be more relevant to the predatory sexual offenders who are more difficult to deter because by definition, they are organised, planned and thus more likely to have already considered cost/ benefits and/or be less likely to be deterred (Wortley & Smallbone, 2006). SCP strategies that focus solely on the offender's reaction to the opportunity and situation will be largely ineffective, while the perspective of frustrating offender goals and disrupting their plans should be given greater emphasis

(Ekblom & Gill, 2016). This relates back to the original argument presented in Chapter 2 for the need for RAT and RCP to be complemented by further theory that assists in testing or further considering motivation. The following section, which obtained offender perspectives, was central to understanding how the goals, plans, decisions and scripts are functionally interwoven for offenders committing SOLT. This insight will contribute to strategies directed to reducing the rewards and removing excuses for sexual offenders in this context.

8.2 Research Aim 2: Seeking offenders' perspectives – how they make sense of themselves and their actions as perpetrators

Offender perspectives are a central component of this thesis, which not only assist with generating a descriptive account of SOLT but also provide a deeper understanding, that crime data alone would not have achieved. Although the number of offender interviews was smaller than anticipated, the value of gaining the offenders' perspectives was immeasurable. Moreover, the narratives about offenders obtained from the ethnographic inquiry have provided a wealth of information and specifics about the perceived motivations and causes of crime, the nature of the criminal calculus, and the situational dynamics of criminal events (Copes & Vieraitis, 2009). The narrative accounts allowed for understanding of their lives, offering insights into why they chose to engage in illicit behaviours (Copes & Vieraitis, 2009).

This body of research has contributed to a deeper understanding of the decision-making processes of offenders committing SOLT.

Using the offender as their own expert, to research and understand their own behaviour reliably can help with explanations for how they encounter and respond to circumstances in relation to their criminal behaviour (Nee, 2004). For example, the narratives suggest that offenders' assessment of risks and rewards of sexually offending on the trains is not a static, unbiased process. It is a more iterative and interpretative process, which enables offenders to make sense of their crimes, thus incorporating their decisions as part of a rational calculus (Copes & Vieraitis, 2009), although it may be post hoc. Whilst this thesis sought to ascertain the sequence of events culminating in a sexual offence as part of a crime script, it also aimed to illuminate the merits of using narratives as stores of data on criminal behaviour and its causes (Presser, 2009). The findings in study 2 demonstrated how individuals use their narratives as intended to affect others, e.g. such as shock as an emotion, followed by feeling sympathetic. Yet, it also revealed how a narrative is something that can affect the actor as well, (Presser, 2009, 2010).

One aim of this research was to examine those factors that contribute to the perception by individuals committing SOLT that their crimes are rational using the tenet of rational choice as a framework. Whilst cognitive factors were relevant to the individual's narrative and the way they interpret

and describe their criminal decisions, the social origins of these factors are often overlooked (Presser, 2009). Like most, men convicted of sexual offences desire a 'normal life' (Waldram, 2012). This proved difficult for the offenders interviewed, given how their actions have made it challenging to be viewed as normal by society and, indeed, to themselves (Victor & Waldram, 2015). There is also the potential for conditions of a Sexual Harm Prevention Order (SHPO)[61] or sentence requirements to have direct and practical implications, e.g. if they offended as part of their routine to/from work and they prohibited from travelling that way, they may lose that work.

Solely taking a quantitative approach by quantifying a social process, such as committing SOLT, would have been problematic. Many of the processes involved – motivation, values, attitudes and other contextual activities – are inappropriate for quantification and cannot be measured in a meaningful way (Matthews, 2014). Whilst statistical methods used in the third study indicated patterns within the police crime records and generated loglinear models to define the associations, it was the qualitative examples that were best placed to shed light on the interaction between variables. As Matthews (2014) notes about multivariate analyses,

[61] A sexual harm prevention order (SHOPO) is an order imposed by a Magistrates or Crown Court on an individual who it is considered to pose a risk of sexual harm to either the general public or a certain group of people or individual person(s)

> *"Variables selected are often assumed to occur at the same level of aggregation, but the social world is a complex interweaving of structures operative at many different levels"* (p.62).

Applying offender narratives allowed for greater interpretation of how variables such as time and location are independent and combine and conflict in different ways (Matthews, 2014). Thus, the quantitative and qualitative methods were usefully combined to provide a more powerful form of analysis of how SOLT was committed.

A key strength of the findings and conclusions presented in the qualitative studies within this thesis is that they go beyond being an added bonus or an afterthought to quantitative work. Qualitative methods in this research served to suggest the steer for which offence behaviours should be analysed quantitatively in the final study. Study 1 and 2 were instrumental in portraying what Wright and Bouffard (2016) described as:

> *"the myriad social contexts within which offenders are situated, as well as the social processes and conditions that either encourage or discourage criminal behaviour." (p.136)*

As well as providing insight on the qualitative nature of offending, to include individual propensity and opportunity, the qualitative inquiry gave direction to the type of spatial and temporal influences that were important to explore in relation to the offending behaviour. The combined use of quantitative and qualitative methods provided a better overall understanding of how and why individuals engaged in the different sexual offences within the train

environment. Although the qualitative research can be compelling in its own right, the quantitative analyses of the offence reports in study 3 added power and confidence in the narratives of the interviewed offenders (Sullivan, 1998).

8.2.1 Practical implications for the criminal justice system

Consistent with the account by Presser and Sandberg (2015), the prevailing theme from the men's stories was about either change or stability in the moral self. This was conveyed by the protagonist of the stories being rehabilitated since the most recent offence or remaining the same basic person over the life course. Often, moral disengagement strategies were a key factor applied by individuals which enabled them to avoid - either before or after their offence – the consequences of engaging in sexual offending behaviour (Scarpati & Pina, 2017). Thus, it is the re-engaging of individuals with their moral standards and, in effect, reinstating the idea that moral principles apply to them and are relevant in all situations in relation to committing SOLT, which will increase self-censure (Scarpati & Pina, 2017). This understanding of the moral domain serves to inform possible ways to counteract SOLT from a criminal justice perspective. The following sections address how the role of morality within personal narratives can be used to direct crime prevention measures and the treatment offered within interventions.

8.2.2 Crime prevention measures

Moral disengagement cannot be considered in isolation, as wider cultural norms within society exert powerful influences on people's moral

thoughts and behaviours (Bandura, 2002). Adopting the perspective that one's context can influence one's tendency to morally disengage and commit a sexual offence, is key in a climate where men see harassment as harmless fun or normal gendered interaction (Quinn, 2002). This acknowledges *"the hegemonic, patriarchal forms of masculinity and the practices by which they are (re)produced"* (Quinn, 2002, p. 400) and sexism continues to perpetuate inequality (Herrera et al., 2014). Any intervention to tackle SOLT needs to develop effective strategies that enable both victims and perpetrators to identify this behaviour as harassment (Herrera et al., 2014). Whilst the RITSI campaign is viewed as successfully addressing the former by achieving increased reporting (Solymosi et al., 2018), campaigns regarding the perpetrator could be further developed with a focus on reducing moral disengagement.

A key research question underpinning this thesis was 'why do individuals commit SOLT?' In its simplest terms, one of the answers from the research findings suggests it is because they used various moral disengagement strategies, which enabled them to maintain a positive view of themselves, despite their transgressions. This occurs in the context of a society in which sexual violence is embedded and the pathology does not lie solely with the perpetrator/offender, but with society as a whole (Vecina, Marzana, & Paruzel-Czachura, 2015). There is a strong argument for changing public attitudes towards sexual offending, as it is not that unusual for the general

population to hold the same problematic attitudes that are endorsed by convicted sex offenders (Helmus et al., 2013; Horvath, Hegarty, Tyler, & Mansfield, 2012). Consequently, there is support for social marketing campaigns tailored to the general male population using the train network. The role for BTP would be to offset individuals' attempts to distance themselves from (re)offending by employing strategies that explicitly acknowledge the wrongfulness of the act (Hanson & Morton-Bourgon, 2005; Maruna & Mann, 2006). There may also be opportunities to utilise the train population to adopt guardianship capabilities. This is explored further in the future research section below.

8.2.3 Rehabilitation and desistance

The analysis of the life stories of the five offenders that were interviewed creates a basis for understanding their criminal careers through the narrative criminological approach (Presser & Sandberg, 2015). Understanding the narratives is key to assisting people to live crime-free lives, which in this instance relates to the learning from the sexual offenders spoken to in this thesis. This thesis was interested in focusing on offender perspectives to potentially add to the limited knowledge about why people desist from sexual crime. There is some literature published in relation to the age-sex crime curve and offending trajectories for groups of general and sex offenders, however, findings regarding the rates of persistence or desistance for the groups are inconclusive across studies (Francis, Harris, Wallace,

Knight, & Soothill, 2014; Lussier, Tzoumakis, Cale, & Amirault, 2010). Findings within this research indicated that both informal controls, such as employment and formal social controls, such as probation and treatment contributed to a reduction in self-reports of re-offending, which was consistent with other empirical evidence (Kruttschnitt, Uggen, & Shelton, 2000).

For all offenders in this research, cognitive transformation was attributed to their desistance, this echoed findings by Harris (2014). Changes of thinking ranged from a simple recognition of harm caused by their actions to the creation of a new non-offending identity and a desire never to return to prison (Healy, 2017). For some offenders in this research, cognitive transformation combined with a desire to assist others to avoid crime, which was their motivation to take part in the research as they felt it would fulfil this criterion. Both the literature and the findings in study 2 suggest that for some offenders, cognitive transformation was usually a product of receiving sex offender specific treatment (Harris, 2014). The impact of treatment was often linked to the individual preparing to live an offence-free life with the aid of a new identity linked to possibility of redemption (Maruna, 2001). There is a strong argument for treatment plans for individuals convicted of SOLT to focus on what might best facilitate changing their self-narratives and enhance identity transformation. This is in opposition to a sole focus on the deterrence component of the criminal desistence process (Burrows, 2016).

An interaction exists between formal and informal social control and it can be difficult to isolate the effects (Healy, 2012). James and Peter described having access to targeted sex offender group work programmes, which contributed to a change in self-narratives and identity transformation. This is consistent with the findings in a study by Cooley, Moore, and Sample (2017), which suggests that even though probation might not act as a deterrent, it began and maintained offenders' desistance from offending through the formal social control mechanism. This was often achieved through supporting access to the treatment they need. Based on the findings presented in this thesis, the implications for future policies for this population of sexual offenders would include measures to support people as they begin to understand their deviant sexual behaviours and cognitively transform to embrace crime free lives (Cooley et al., 2017). This suggests benefits aligned with current thinking around treatment programmes, with less focus on cognitive distortions, instead, adopting a more strengths-based, future focussed approach to instil hope for the future, develop self-efficacy and to support participants to develop a non-offending identity.

8.3 Research Aim 3: Developing an integrated theoretical framework

The research into the offence process of SOLT in this thesis was predominantly a 'bottom-up' process, rather than being a 'top-down' process dominated by theoretical influences (Polaschek & Hudson, 2004). The crime

script generated for the different types of sexual offending that occur on London trains was grounded in the experiences of the offenders who participated in the research. A further benefit of this research was the potential to go beyond this approach, enhancing the descriptive model with the knowledge and experience of the BTP proactive police officers who police these types of offending, alongside the analysis of police data. Having established the descriptive account of SOLT, the final aim this thesis set out to achieve was to generate a theoretical framework that could be used to explain the phenomenon of SOLT.

There are a number of implications in these findings for psychological theory. This research adopted the 'theory knitting' strategy (Kalmar & Sternberg, 1988) to integrate the best aspects of competing psychological and criminological theories, namely, rational choice, routine activity, ITSO and narrative criminology into one framework. This strategy has shown to be successful for the study of SOLT because together they incorporate the necessary elements useful for enlightening the analysis on the situational aspects before and after the sexual offence. For example, the dynamics of the space and time dimension of the offence and the relevance of events that precede the crime (Ceccato et al., 2017). Individuals are exposed to different environments when moving around the train network. Their motivation to commit a sexual offence will vary based on environmental factors such as crowdedness, which inform the decision-making regarding risks/benefits, as

well as other individual factors affecting their level of self-control or coping strategies.

Using the rational choice approach and conceptualising SOLT as a crime script made it easier to explore the way offenders think, the risks they are willing to take, as well as the way in which they select their victims and commit their crimes (Deslauriers-Varin & Beauregard, 2010). As outlined in earlier sections of this chapter, rational choice was selected as one of the frameworks for this research, based on its potential to contribute to developing practical ways of reducing or preventing crime. The focus on the choice-structuring properties of different types of SOLT was a valuable way of comprehending the involvement in crime by different actors (Cornish & Clarke, 1987). RCP was regarded as beneficial for exploring sexual offences in the train environment, which deflected the criticism that it neglects the role of poverty and other structural influences (Matthews, 2014), which may be less relevant to this type of crime.

Whilst RCP offered an outwardly straightforward conception of human action, it was viewed as being unable to provide a thorough explanation that can be applied to offences such as SOLT (Matthews, 2014). RCP seemed to neglect the issue of offender motivation, however, there was an admission that 'background factors' e.g. psychological temperament and parenting dictate a person's 'readiness' to commit crime (Cornish & Clarke, 1986). Neither RCP nor RAT are particularly interested in psychological or

dispositional accounts of the individual. Thus, the ITSO became a vital component of the theoretical framework, in challenging the assumption that offenders are solely goal directed in their offending behaviour (Matthews, 2014). Integrating the ITSO and narrative analysis (NA) provided the foundation to critically engage with the different psychological accounts of the decision-making processes, generating a more rigorous and coherent theoretical approach to SOLT.

Including the routine activity approach allowed the focus on places and the spatial crime concentration of SOLT as the unit of analysis, which highlighted high-crime places, e.g. Zone 1 areas of London (Brantingham & Brantingham, 1995). It also raised the issue of how the situation in which the crime occurs could be changed, i.e. the ecological or situational context that supply the range of options from which choices to sexually offend on London trains are made and could be manipulated (Felson, 1994). On the premise that sexual offences occur on the trains when a likely offender, a suitable target and the absence of capable guardians come together, RAT refers to the micro level of offending and its association with a lack of suitable guardians. Although the theory lacks clarity about the notion of a 'capable guardian' and the uncertainty around this concept, it allows for consideration of different actors within a 'script' and the role they can play in deterring crime.

In summary, RAT is best considered a set of propositions, and not so much a theory, which in isolation has limited explanatory power but provides

a useful way in which to conceptualise crime problems and crime prevention (Eck, 2003; Felson & Clarke, 1998). Using RAT within this research provided an opportunity to appraise the place manager role from BTP's perspective and its effectiveness in preventing crime. It was acknowledged that informal agents, such as members of the public were a far greater number and have the potential to be far more effective guardians. Police officers are smaller in number, in comparison with passenger numbers, their level of guardianship is constrained and benefits from targeted policing to maximise detection. It is in this context that RAT was at its most useful in combination with the script framework, in examining crime events from the perspective of guardians against crime (Leclerc & Reynald, 2017).

The strength of drawing on ITSO and theory regarding ACEs, was that it is more suited to seeking the answer to the question "why has the sexual offence happened?" Not just "what is wrong with you?" Within study 2, offenders were willing to share traumatic experiences in childhood; stories of child abuse; proud recollections of achievement in their careers; and the daily challenges of being homeless. The ITSO provided a framework for understanding how interacting contextual variables contribute to the presentation of readiness in an individual, who when a potential opportunity arose engaged in sexual offending on London trains. The theory filled the void in relation to distal factors that contribute to the motivation of the offender, which is not fully addressed by the environmental criminological

theories. The ITSO also accounted for maintenance of the sexual offending for those individuals who committed SOLT, by evaluating psychological functioning that goes beyond a simple cost/benefit analysis proposed by the RCP.

Applying the narrative criminology (NC) perspective to then integrate the assumptions of the ITSO, RAT, RACP and SCP within one framework, helped with the conceptualisation of complex relationship between the story of those committing SOLT and 'reality' – and the construction of narrative identity (Sandberg & Ugelvik, 2016). It is acknowledged that stories are tailored to the circumstances of telling (Presser & Sandberg, 2015), influenced by the setting in which they are told (Presser & Sandberg, 2015). However, NC provides a framework with which to integrate all the theories, by assigning a central role to narrative in theories of crime; this is not to imply that the other factors are unimportant (Presser, 2009). The challenge of narrative approaches lies in the quest to capture the explanatory aspect of offenders' life stories, given the fluidity and pace with which the narrative is presented. Yet there was clear potential for the narratives of offenders committing SOLT to help understand the instigation of specific patterns of sexual offending (Youngs & Canter, 2012b).

There are theoretical as well as practical benefits to studying the spatial and temporal distribution of an emerging crime type. Thus, this thesis sought to construct a new framework with theoretical components that could inform

the analysis of situational conditions of sexual offences that occurred on London trains. Study 3 demonstrated the potential to extend the use of statistical modelling presented in this thesis to generate new insights into the situational conditions of SOLT (Ceccato et al., 2017). Indeed, developing a framework to address SOLT, will in practice require input not only from psychology and criminology, but from different disciplines and theoretical principles including geography, transport planning, architecture and security (Ceccato, 2017). The complexity of SOLT benefits from the proposed integrated theoretical framework as a starting point for a more holistic and cross-disciplinary research to consolidate understanding of the problem and developing SCP measures.

8.4 Limitations

The proposed theoretical framework put forward within this research provided a structure for thinking systematically about sexual offending in the context of trains and its basic causal variables. There are still gaps in knowledge regarding onset and persistence factors, which are not necessarily the same and still need unpicking. There is also the potential bias because of the retrospective nature of the data. In addition, the sample of offenders consisted exclusively of convicted offenders. Given the low reporting rates of sexual offences to BTP, this has implications for the extent to which the findings could be extrapolated to un-convicted SOLT offenders. The experiences and explanations for perpetrators who have not been through the

criminal justice system may be different. Furthermore, the findings reflect those offenders who were unable to avoid detection and were subsequently apprehended by the police. Therefore, the search behaviours of offenders who avoided apprehension can be assumed to be more sophisticated, successful, luckier or possibly even more intimidating to victims.

Having rare access to the police crime data allowed for certain questions to be asked in relation to the commission of SOLT, however, by nature of the data not being collected for specific research purposes, there were certain constraints. Primarily, the inconsistency with which data were input impacted the direction of the analysis within this research, as well as the extent to which key information could be included, for example risk/vulnerability indicators relating to the victims/offenders. Whilst behavioural data were obtained from high numbers of offence reports, the content and information quality were not sufficiently robust to enable certain interrogation, such as crime linking. Using alternative sources of data, such as victim statements, may have counteracted this issue, however any such system that seeks to link offences, needs to be supported by a good data management system.

8.5 Future direction for research

Further research building on understanding of why offenders acted in a particular way during an offence can help investigators identify the type of

individual responsible for this crime, especially when an unknown offender is involved (Beauregard, Rossmo, et al., 2007). A focus on understanding the situational and dynamic influences of interpersonal behaviour on each and every offence variable, paying attention to how they could potentially moderate one another would be useful (Goodwill & Alison, 2007). This interrogation is most likely to be achieved through case linkage analysis (Slater et al., 2015; Woodhams et al., 2019; Woodhams & Toye, 2007), which is now recognised as being useful for a variety of less serious crime types, not just rape (Woodhams et al., 2007). Case linkage could help identify which actions of a sexual offender operating on London trains remain consistent from one offence to another, as well as shed light on why they chose specific actions in certain circumstances.

The findings in this thesis support the notion that sexual harassment and offending within the train network environment are similar to other forms of sexual aggression, whereby a minority of individuals sex offenders often admit to committing multiple offences over long periods of time (Lievore, 2004). On this premise, it would be logical to focus on those who have committed multiple sexual offences against multiple targets (Seto, 2019). Linking enables the collation and pooling of information from various witnesses and intelligence reports, potentially increasing the evidence against an offender (Grubin, Kelly, & Brunsdon, 2001). Crime analysts can proactively search through a large number of unsolved offences looking for

similar offences that might form part of a series. The findings generated from this type of crime analysis research could be of strategic benefit to BTP, allowing for the prioritising and targeting of resources more effectively.

The findings from this research identified bystander intervention in the context of sexual offending on trains, as an important area for further study. This echoed the findings from a rapid evidence assessment conducted, which found many examples where women were sexually harassed or attacked on public transport in the presence of bystanders who did nothing (Gekoski, 2017). Further exploration of this 'bystander effect' or 'bystander apathy' is required to fill the gap in knowledge about the factors that influence bystander behaviour on public transport, and in particular the train environment. Knowing how bystanders behave when witnessing USBs on public transport, can be utilised by BTP as part of a SCP measure that extends guardianship, through the potential to increase bystander competency. Research of this nature would identify which model would be most appropriate for potentially informing BTP initiatives geared at increasing bystander intervention in a safe way.

8.6 Conclusion

This thesis has endeavoured to construct an overall coherent model to guide ongoing theoretical research on SOLT. The development of a multifactorial theory of sexual offending specific to the London train

environment included a descriptive model of the offence process. This outlined the cognitive, behavioural, motivational, and social factors associated with the commission of a sexual offence (Ward & Hudson, 1998). This research contributes to what little is known about individuals who engage in sexual harassment or sexual offending on London trains. Data analysis followed a narrative approach, which meant understanding offenders' perspectives – how they make sense of themselves and their actions as perpetrators. Adopting this reflexive approach avoided the criticism that most sex offender research ignores the context in which individuals live their lives, and assisted in understanding the social determinants of sexual behaviour (Farmer, McAlinden, & Maruna, 2015).

A pluralistic approach to defining and understanding the multifaceted nature of sexual offences that take place on London trains, allowed this phenomenon to be viewed through multiple lenses. Although some of the findings may have been gained using each method on its own, collectively they produced holistic, richer, more insightful and nuanced understanding of SOLT. This thesis has presented a plausible theory of the crime-commission for SOLT and empirical findings that lay the groundwork for future research that can further develop ideas to connect and explain the intricacies and important elements of the individual and their behaviour. The findings in this thesis found clear support for continuing with existing interventions, which can reduce USBs on public transport, such as more CCTV or police patrols

(Gekoski et al., 2015), with the additional insight for more strategic approaches.

The unique contribution of the crime controller script paves the way for more innovative approaches to BTP's situational crime prevention measures for SOLT. Furthermore, as London has one of the world's busiest rapid transit train systems, the theoretical framework developed in this research provides a template to examine the policing strategies internationally. There is the potential that this model of understanding SOLT can be generalised to where this problem exists in large cities across the world, both on train and bus networks that possess similar environmental characteristics. Equally, there may be some merit in applying the learning from these findings to wider policing challenges in relation to other crime types.

Glossary

Term	Definition
Chikan	The Japanese translation for 'groping' – uninvited sexual touching
Cyber-flashing	Using Apple's AirDrop function to send people unwanted sexually explicit images
Frotteurism	The non-consensual sexual act of rubbing one's genitalia against another's person, usually that of a stranger.
Offender	A person who commits an illegal act where the is conviction by a court as a result
Perpetrator	Someone who has carried out a harmful or illegal act, such as rape - this term is not related to criminal proceedings
Public transport	Forms of transport that are available to the public, charge set fares, and run on fixed routes (e.g. trains, buses, trams)
Railways	A land passenger and goods transport system with wheeled vehicles running on rails
Sexual harassment	Unwanted or unwelcome sexual attention.

Street harassment	Harassment that is faced mostly by women from men who are strangers, in public spaces
Sexual assault	When a person is threatened, coerced, or forced into sexual acts against their will
Sexual offence	A sexual act which signifies a breach of a law, an illegal act
Sexual violence	The general term we use to describe any kind of unwanted sexual act or activity, including rape, sexual assault, sexual abuse, and many others
Suspect	A person believed to have committed a crime or done something wrong
Toucherism	A sexual act based on grabbing or rubbing one's hands against an unexpecting (and non-consenting) person
Trains	a series of connected railway carriages moved by a locomotive or by integral motors
Unwanted sexual behaviours	Behaviours which include; whistling, staring, pinching, fondling or touching, and

	rubbing against women, which refer to the lower level categories of sexual offence
Upskirting	Taking an image under a woman's skirt, capturing an image of the crotch area, underwear, and sometimes genitalia.
Victimisation	A form of harassment where someone is treated less favourably or targeted because of a protected characteristic, such as gender

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